Behind Open Doors:
Restaurants and Food Culture in Kosova

By

Arsim Canolli

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University College London

Department of Anthropology

2014

The work presented in this thesis is my own. I confirm that information deriving from other sources has been indicated properly.

Contents

Summary

My dissertation is grounded in a thick ethnography of restaurants as social and material sites in Prishtina, the capital of Kosova. I argue that Kosovar food culture is characterised by its peasant, Ottoman and socialist past. Yet, in the current phase of state-building, Kosovars are constantly seeking to appropriate different ideas, models and practices to construct, reproduce, negotiate and affirm their social and national identity. My ethnography is phenomenologically rooted and dialogically conducted as an embodied approach to the study of commensality, conviviality, sociality and performance in gastronomic 'third places.' I look at both spatial and placial aspects of the foodscape as materialised in restaurants. In chapter one, I focus on the Kosovar society in general and Kosovar food culture in particular. Here, I canvas a general foodview of Kosova with particular focus in its socialist past. Then I move to chapter two to discuss relevant literature in the anthropology of food, and my methodology. In chapter three, I focus on 'banal gastronationalism' and 'culidiversity' as produced, practiced and consumed in restaurants. I also argue that local tradition is represented in the process of appropriating, negotiating and performing culture. In chapter four, I analyse the ways in which 'village' food, 'fast food' and 'our food' have become objectifications of morality, modernity and ideology. This chapter provides a view of foodways, food ideologies, food movements and local coping strategies. In chapter five, I turn to discuss café culture. I argue that cafés play a crucial role in the formation, production, reproduction and exchange of identification capital, public sphere and community building. In the final chapter, I conclude by summarising my thesis and argue that anthropology of postsocialism may benefit from the study of food and restaurants.

Tables and photos

Notes on Language, Terminology and Pseudonyms

The pronounciation of Albanian is simple.There are some differences that English speakers need to know. They are as follows:

ç	as **ch**eck
dh	as **th**is
ë	as h**u**rt
xh	As gin**g**er
gj	As ju**dg**e
x	As **j**ow
q	As **ch**eese
rr	As in bo**rr**ow
y	As the French u in *une*
ll	As ba**ll**
zh	Like vi**s**ion
nj	Like n**ew**

For Serbian pronunciation:

c	'ts'
č	'tch' (as in 'ma**tch**')
ć	similar to **č** but softer
dj	'dj' as in '**j**am'
j	'y' (as in '**y**ellow')
š	'**sh**'as in **s**ugar
ž	'zh' as Doctor **Zh**ivago

The Turkish pronunciation:

c	'j' (as in **J**ames)
ç	'tch' (as in 'ma**tch**')
ĝ	Silent
ı	A light 'uh'
ö	A long 'uh' (as German 'h**ö**ren'
ş	sh
ü	Strong 'u' (t**u**')

Terminology

In this thesis, I use the term Kosova instead of Kosovo as used in Standard English. This is for two reasons. Firstly, most Kosovars, the majority of whom are Albanians (more than 90%) use the word 'Kosovë' (indef.) or 'Kosova' (def.). Secondly, the term 'Kosovo' is often used ideologically to refer to the eastern half of the territory and 'Metohija' to the western half of the territory. This has created confusion (see Malcom, 1998). If other scholars I cite use the term 'Kosovo', I keep their versions in my quotations. Often, to refer to the historical and ideological connotations of the term, I write 'Kosovo' as well. For example, I use 'Kosovo' in 'The Battle of Kosovo'. In such cases, I provide comments or explanations.

I use the term 'Kosovar' rather than 'Kosovan'. This is the most common adjective and it fits with the general usage in Kosova. Nevertheless, the term 'Kosovar' is complex and layered with various connotations, some of which I discuss in this thesis. Yet, I use the term to refer to the 'citizens of Kosova state' as an inclusive term. The term is sensitive and often perceived as 'imposed' to refer only to 'citizenship' status. It is the subject of a large debate in Kosova (Kraja, 2012).

I use the term 'Albanian' in a general ethnic-linguistic-cultural sense as it has been used in historical and anthropological literature (similar to Malcolm, 1998; Duijzings, 2001; Luci, 2014). I use the version 'Kosovar Albanian' only when I need to refer to self-definitions used by Albanians in Kosova. Nevertheless, most of the time, the term 'Kosovar' is inclusive of 'Kosovar Albanian' identity. I do not adopt the term 'ethnic Albanian' as is often used in English, since the word was "imposed upon Kosovar Albanians from outside and was used almost universally during and after the war, whereas the equivalent term 'ethnic Serb' for the

Serb inhabitants of Kosova never really took hold - thus implicitly suggesting that the country was, indeed, simply part of Serbia," (Elsie, 2008)[1]. I use the term 'Kosova Serbs' when I refer only to the ethnic identity of Serbs in Kosova. When I refer to the citizens of Albania, I use the official term 'Albanian' and provide additional references to recognise the citizenship, the identity, or anything else.

Place names in Kosova have changed several times to fit the ideological regimes ruling over the country. Locals remember places in various versions and often use old names, despite the current official versions. I use same names as my informants, and use old/other names alongside them only when I need to comment or explain.

I use most of the dish names in their original dialect and language as used when cooked, served, ordered and eaten in their corresponding places. When relevant, I provide explanations.

Pseudonyms

To ensure anonymity of my informants, and to follow common anthropological practice, I use pseudonyms for most of the names and some of the places, including restaurants and cafés. Some of the details of informants' life stories that I do not consider important in discussion are also changed. Some informants gave consent to use their real names. I explain these differences in relevant footnotes.

[1] See Elsie, R. (2008) 'Kosova and Albania: history, people, identity' article written on 25 February 2008. See http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/conflicts/reimagining_yugoslavia/kosova_albania_identity (accessed on 7 may 2011)

Acknowledgments

Writing this PhD thesis has transformed me as a person and as a young academic. I feel that I have gained an endurance that I did not have when I started the research, partly because I had never engaged in such a large project and partly because I have learned to listen carefully to other people's opinions.

My life has been enriched working with many wonderful people in the UK and in Kosova. I owe debts and thanks to all of them. Firstly, I would like to thank all my informants in Kosova. A big thank you goes to all those who have generously talked to me, allowed me to observe and participate in their lifestyle. Amongst many informants, I firstly would like to thank the owners, Lulzim and Emine and their staff at Liburnia in Prishtina, Flamur and his staff in Café Boheme in Prishtina, and the owner of "Te Dili" *gjellëtore* (stewplace), who preferred to remain anonymous. I would like to thank other restaurant owners who opened their doors and talked to me in as their guest. Without their generosity and willingness, I would not have been able to do the ethnography required for this project. I would also like to thank all other informants who were kind enough to converse with me and let me ask them many nagging questions as they went through eating their meals or coping with their everyday lives.

I originally proposed to conduct a phenomenological study of landscape in Kosova. Then, during my research training, my focus shifted to the juxtaposition of landscape and foodscape. As I grew into my research, restaurants became the main focus. I wish to thank my supervisor, Professor Chris Tilley, who has been patient with me over the years. In our many conversations, Chris has given me the best advice a supervisor can give to his student. He encouraged me to explore everyday life, experience and observe it, listen to others, read other's research, and write my own thoughts, flowing from an embodied experience. This advice has always been imparted in dialogue and conversation. Thank you!

I would also like to thank Professor Susanne Kuechler, my second supervisor, for her early advice and suggestions for the project. There are several other people in the Department of Anthropology at UCL that I have to thank for their constructive advice and comments on my research: Victor Buchli, Danny Miller, Ludovic Coupaye, Michael Rowlands, and Paolo Favero. Reading, conversing and listening to many UCL colleagues has shaped my understanding of anthropology, material culture, food and post-socialism. There are many people in London without whose support I would not have been able to complete this project. I would like to extend my thanks to my cousins, Shefqet Canolli and Fadil Sheqiri, who kindly provided shelter, food and entertainment during my many long stays in their flat in London. I would also like to thank Paul Carter-Bowman (UCL, Anthropology) for proofreading most of the text in this dissertation.

There are many people in Prishtina that I need to thank. I would like to extend my thanks to my dearest friends Enver Shabani, Nysret Krasniqi and Kujtim Rrahmani for their continuous friendship. I would also like to thank Nexhmi Rexhepi, Fazli Gajraku, Adem Beha, Valon Shkodra, Shemsi Krasniqi, Nita Luci, Zanita Halimi, Bekim Xhemili, Gëzim Selaci, Ukë Xhemaj, Lumnije Kadriu, and many others who have been inspiring conversationalist over years. I would like to thank Afërdita Onuzi, Nebi Bardhoshi, Olsi Lelaj, and Armanda Hysa from Tirana, Albania for their inspiring conversations with me. I would also like to thank my students in Prishtina, who have inspired me since I started teaching (part-time) anthropology in 2010.

Without the love and care of my family - Mehmet (father), Miradije (mother), Shpresa (sister), Shqipe (sister), Florim (brother), Valbona (sister) and Kushtrim (brother) - I would not have been able to undertake and pursue this route of personal and career development. I would like to thank them all from my heart. Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Ganimete Arifaj-

Canolli, for never stopping to provide me with the deepest and the most sincere love, care and support, without which this thesis would never see the light. My daughters, Rrita (4 years old) and Mrika (1 year old), are my great muses! *Faleminderit të gjithëve* (Thank you all!)

Maps

Figure 1. Map of Administrative Division of Kosova, developed by the Kosova Statistical Agency, © 2011

Figure 2. Map of Prishtina, developed by “Enti për punë gjeodezike dhe fotogametrike” ©2002

Figure 3. A Tilted View of Prishtina city (Google-Maps © 2014)

CHAPTER I

From 'Dardanians' to 'Young Europeans': A Foodview of Kosova

'First impressions when scouring Pristina for something to nibble can make you wish you'd brought sandwiches. However, like so many other things in the city, don't let appearances fool you. A largish Balkan city populate by Albanians and rich Westerners ensures that eating out in Pristina is deliciously varied, and more than often excellent. Eating out is cheap too in Pristina, with main course often under €10. You will soon be endlessly dazzled by superb salads, lashings of lamb, fabulous white cheese, the very best of Turkish food, passable pizza and much more besides. Ignore the battalions of beleaguered expats who tell you what a dreadful experience Pristina is, and simply tuck in. Who cares if the waiter has a cigarette in his mouth? He really is genuinely pleased to serve you' (*Pristina in Your Pocket Guide*, Spring-Summer 2011, 17)

If you visit Kosova today and you want to know a bit about current public life there, amongst many things, you are likely to find yourself in and around public squares, war monuments, local museums, mosques and churches. You may also visit some of the countryside landscape. Your other almost immediate experience of everyday life in Kosova is most probably going to be food, which you may have in a local eatery or restaurant. Eating and drinking out culture has become increasingly popular in Kosova. Sitting at cafés sipping coffee, organising a restaurant dinner for special occasions, or going for a fast food takeaway, is a common habit in local experience. Kosovars have found a quick way of engaging with civility, changing taste and performing culture for themselves and their visitors. In attempts to keep up with change, restaurants and cafés have become quintessential models of negotiation between the most common categories such as: tradition and modernity, local and global, 'our and their', 'European' and 'Oriental'.

In our age, food objectifies many 'modes of identification' (MacClancy, 2004). In the Kosova context, identities or modes of identification are constructed and shaped in constant processual flux of changing, negotiating, and becoming. In the social context, restaurants are sites and modes of experience forming "a bustling microcosm of social and symbolic processes focused on the formation and maintenance of identities in the context of highly sensory environment" (Beriss & Sutton, 2007: 3). It is argued that traditional restaurants in Kosova are sites of ethnic identification. Yet, restaurants are rendered through the lens of glocalisation theory (Robertson, 1994, 1995). However, they are also culinary, gastronomic and social sites, and can be approached as things in themselves, as entities and agents. "Where are we going? …We are/not going there" - this is a common phrase in our contemporary world. Their agency, the very notion of 'thereness' may be constituted by many factors, such as location, host-guest hospitality and guest-guest hospitableness, comfort, smell and taste of food, distinction, social atmosphere, and sensorial experience.

Why is it important to study food culture in Kosova? This is not only a rhetorical question. It was a question that was asked many times by my local academic colleagues in Prishtina: "Why study food now when only politics matters?" asked many of my Kosovar friends, colleagues, and informants. In fact, these questions reflect directly on the legacy of ethnological research conducted in the Balkans and Eastern Europe in general, by local and foreign researchers. The anthropological focus on Eastern Europe in general, and the Balkans in particular, has mainly concentrated on grand themes already established in the postsocialist studies: the structures of postsocialist states, legacies of socialism, and the present and future potentialities, complex coping strategies and pathways to deal with change (Hann, 2002; Stark & Bruszt, 1998; Burawoy & Verdery, 1996). Only recently the anthropological focus has shifted

towards the commonalities, employing a 'bottom-up' approach which focuses on eliciting the meaning of social relations as practiced in the context of daily life (Dazin, 2001; West & Raman, 2009; Bougarel et al, 2007; Ghodsee, 2005). Recently food has started to be on the ethnography notebooks of anthropologists studying postsocialist Eastern European countries too (Caldwell, 2005, 2009, 2011; Shectman, 2009, Metzo, 2009; Myncite, 2009). For, as Nestle argues, "when you study food, you get to the heart (the stomach, really) of the Europeanisation of former Soviet-bloc countries" (2009: xi), and in the words of Melissa Caldwell, "food represents one of the best, and probably the most accessible, vehicles of understanding postsocialist cultures" (2005:5).

This dissertation, then, traces the everyday social life of food as cooked, served and eaten in gastronomic 'third places' such as restaurants, cafés and local eateries in Prishtina, the capital of Kosova. It tries to show the importance of restaurants as agents of the new culinary and gastronomic fields (Ayora-Diaz, 2012) emerging in this newly independent country in Europe. It tries to highlight the importance of eating out in the process of rebuilding social life in a postwar country. As a part of the Yugoslav federation, Kosova was a subject of the Yugoslav socialist project. Socialist policies, in general, and those as exercised in Eastern Europe aimed for food rationalisation. Food systems and food practices were entangled with projects and policies of the state (Caldwell, 2009). Food was the quintessential symbol and medium to articulate successes and failures of the new socialist system, promoted as revolutionary and progressive. Many socialist states aimed to emancipate citizens by introducing various types of communal kitchens and public canteens. Yet food shortages threatened the citizens and the utopian vision of progress. Cafés, restaurants and other eating out places were nationalised. The thriving *çarshija* life practiced during Ottoman reign was heavily destroyed in the name of 'de-orientalisation' and

'modernisation'. Thus, during socialism, eating out and conviviality in public space, was reserved mainly for the communist "nomenklatura". Workers ate in their home kitchens or in their workplace. In rural settings, conviviality and commensality spaces were associated with home and village common property. For example, *oda*, the guest room, has been used by Albanians as a public space, conference centre and so on (Krasniqi, 2011). In such guest rooms, village matters were discussed and settled. In highly structured reciprocity milieu, food was the essential element of village social relations. As it is stated in Kanun, the customary code of behaviour, 'The house of an Albanian belongs to God and the guest'. The habitual and ritual behaviour of host and guest in '*oda*', and food relations constructed in host-guest dichotomy, structured the 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984) of traditional village behaviour[1]. In local towns a convivial form of eating, drinking and singing known as *aheng* was developed around *sofra* – a low dining table. Yet local Ottoman towns called *sheher* were also hosts to an enduring Ottoman tavern/eatery known as *akçihane* (Turkish for 'stewplace') which was renamed *gjellëtore* (Albanian for 'stewplace') during socialism. From the 80s onwards, local eateries started to connect to local communities through catering for weddings, funeral rites, and other rituals that took place within private homes. Recipes were copied, shared and appropriated. As people migrated to urban towns, food became also one of the central concerns. As my father recalls, "What do you eat in town?" was a common questions among peasants.

As I noted earlier, after the 1999 war the gastronomic field has grown and expanded. Restaurants and cafés have mushroomed all over Kosova. It is estimated that out of more than 12,000 venues registered as restaurants, cafés and other similar eateries in Kosova, there are

[1] For this argument see Voell (2003).

nearly 2,000 registered in Prishtina.[2] Many culinary and gastronomic developments have taken place in Kosova in recent years. There are two TV cooking shows, one monthly food magazine, one local cookbook, two "Out & About" books, one website featuring restaurant and café reviews, three to four daily newspapers featuring recipes and relevant info on food, health and nutrition. Although there is no culinary college at higher education level, NGOs have been running culinary and food preparation courses since 2000. Through cable TV and the internet, Albanians have access to recipes in the Albanian language. There are several documentaries and documentary series about 'Albanian cuisine' and its varieties, Albanian hospitality, and other relevant cultural aspects. Books on "Albanian cuisine" published in Albania are sold in Kosovar bookshops, and websites featuring Albanian cuisine specialties are constantly multiplying. As I write this introduction, I am watching the Albanian version of "Master Chef" on one of Albanian TV stations.

Yet, as I observed, restaurants have emerged as the main agents of instituting the new Kosovar gastronomy. Restauranteurs are the main protagonists of this institution. Home dishes such as *tava, fli, boshqe, long*, and similar traditional dishes have climbed to the Kosovar/traditional section of restaurant menu. Other 'invented' dishes such as *Bërxollë Scanderbeg, Scanderbeg Sword, Tavë kosovare* have become part of the same section in the menu. New fast food restaurants have appropriated and 'glocalised' American-style fast food dining, in food, service and décor. In the new ultra-modern restaurants such as 'Metropol', everything inside the restaurant reciprocates the style of similar restaurants in Western European

[2] The precise number of eating out venues registered in Prishtina is 1981.This is the number of businesses registered as café, restaurants, kitchens and hotel restaurants. Some venues may be registered as both restaurant and café. Other businesses may be registered as 'catering' service only. For example, there are many businesses registered with primary activity as 'other leisure activities' and I identified many of them as cafés and *gjellëtore*. This information is extracted from the Kosova Business Registration Agency (an institution of Ministry of Trade and Industry) See http://www.arbk.org/ (information retrieved from last update on 2 June 2014).

capital cities. Although the waiters may know very little in the art of cooking or serving, the new restaurants have been designed to look sleek and shiny to reflect the 'European' or 'modern' restaurant. Their menu is entirely internationalised with dishes such as 'Beef Stroganoff' and 'Steak Diana'. Internationals working in Prishtina, diaspora tourists and locals who can afford it (usually the newly rich and a rising middle class), may be regulars. The so-called traditional restaurants, often built in the suburbs of the city or villages nearby, usually offer their gardens and courtyards as recreational sites. Many locals, having to choose a restaurant in the suburbs to spend some weekend time, complain about the lack of 'places to go". Restaurants have become 'picnic sites', often serving only *makiato* (macchiato) to urbanites who want to escape Prishtina for fresh air, but can't afford to eat full meals.

Restaurants, as culinary and gastronomic sites, have led the way for the gradual process of purification, standardisation, (de) territorialisation of Kosovar gastronomy. Hence, there is also a process of 'naturalisation' of gastronomy, whereby many traditional practices are turned into an 'essence' of Kosovar gastronomy. Most Kosovars claim that 'fli'[3] and 'tavë'[4] are icon dishes of Kosovar cuisine. Yet such essences are constantly changing. Although almost each restaurant that specialises in Kosovar food may claim 'authenticity' and 'tradition', it is evident that each restaurant also claims 'specialty', 'creativity', 'combination' and 'innovation'.

They have also become quintessential places for 'leisure'. As such, restaurants, cafés and other gastronomic third places, in the local view, are emerging as 'shortcuts to modernity', as local informants put it. Trying to rebuild their lives in a newly independent country, locals have

[3] 'Fli' is a dish of pancakelike pastry layered with cream and yogurt. If you ask any Kosovar today "what is the traditional Kosovar dish?" most of them would cite fli and tavë. *Fli* is understood as ancient peasant dish, whereas *tavë*, on the other hand is understood as urban Balkan dish shared by most countries in the Balkans. Kosovar Albanians proudly utter the word "*fli*" as soon as traditional food is mentioned. It is served in large round trays and the pancakes are layered in the shape of a shining sun. It takes 3-4 hours to make and it is usually made outdoors using 50cm diameter baking tray called *tepsi*, a metal dome which covers the *tepsi* called *saç*, a triangular stand to go over fire and the ingredients.

[4] 'Tavë' is a stew cooked slowly in clay pot. I discuss 'tavë' in chapter 3.

many concerns about pripriety and morality of such new consumption places, and often associate them with the newly rich, corrupt politicians and businessmen, deep-pocketed and nostalgic diaspora, and the young subcultures associated with the notion of 'kuller' (cool person), artists and NGOs who use them as alternative spaces, and so on. Thus, they may "constitute the ideal total social phenomena for our postmodern world" (Beriss &Sutton, 2007: 1).

Fig. 1. 'Fli' @kuzhinashqiptare.net

In relation to the agency of gastronomic third places, in this dissertation, I examine food and eating out culture and the varying forms of meanings, identities, practices, and social relations negotiated, constructed and appropriated in the context of larger social, economic, political and cultural change. I seek to understand how Kosovars are dealing with change, within privately public and publicly private places, behind open doors and in the everyday common and sensorial context of 'gastronomic third places'.[5] I seek to contribute to an understanding of broader

[5] There is no generic term for many types of eating out places often referred to as 'public venue', 'cafeteria', 'luncheonette', 'diner', etc. A further discussion of terms on eating and drinking venues is provided in Warde & Martens (2000). I use the word gastronomic 'third places' interchangeable with words such as café and restaurants. Oldenburg's (2001) term 'third places' is appropriated as 'gastronomic third places' to distinguish it from other common third places such as parks, community halls, and so on.

concerns within food and eating out culture in general, and postsocialism and restaurants in particular. Thus, at best, this dissertation is an ethnography of restaurants and food culture in a postsocialist context. In an attempt to identify and examine the changes that influence the shape of the culture of eating out, I ask several questions: What is the social significance of restaurants in everyday food culture in Prishtina? What is cooked, served, and eaten in kitchens, dining rooms, gardens, salons, and terraces of restaurants in a 'newborn'[6] state of Kosova? How do restaurants and cafés become 'sites' of sociality, conviviality, and identity performance? How is cuisine re-invented, combined and emplaced? What 'modes of identification' (MacClancy, 2004) are challenged, displayed and expressed?

This dissertation seeks to contribute to an understanding of change in Kosova by focusing primarily on food and social relations, it engenders in 'microcosms' of social life (Beriss& Sutton, 2007). Moreover, the research aims to argue that food and restaurants as 'models', 'mirrors' and 're-presentations' (Handelman, 1999) are essential 'social sites' where tradition, taste, cultural and gustemic capital are negotiated, reproduced and reconfigured. As social microcosm, restaurants may prompt a *placial* (Tilley, 2008) approach that involved a sensuous and bodily engagement.

In this chapter I present a foodview of Kosova in relation to politics, society and culture. Some of the literature that I find useful, I review in the second chapter or present, criticise and contextualise in the following chapters, as deemed necessary. In the sections below, I provide the framework of my research in relation to pasts and myths, ideologies, and histories that have 'produced' those pasts. I will also try to contextualise the social life of food and eating out in the socialist context, as this is relevant to current developments in foodscape (Borrero, 2002) in

[6] I use the word 'newborn' to refer to the popular image of Kosova as a 'newborn' state. This has, however, become popular mainly due to the 'Newborn' obelisk which has become a touristic sign.

Kosova. I will reflect in the ways in which local eateries have evolved as sites of culinary and social negotiation. Finally, I will present some basic information on Prishtina, the site of my research, and briefly introduce the rest of the chapters.

The past as refuge?

Janet Reineck, the American anthropologist who conducted fieldwork in Kosova in the 80s, argued that Kosovar Albanians take refuge in the past (1991). According to her research, the past was functionalised as a coping strategy to deal with issues of migration, gender, transformation, ethnicity, and modernity. Aware of the complexity of the potential changes in the country, Reineck (1992) asked many questions regarding the ways in which the future transformations in the political order may reflect on the traditionalism she witnessed among Albanians in Opoja, a rural region in southwest Kosova. She asked:

> Looking into the future, how will the demise of Yugoslavia, the end to five decades of ideological conditioning [read: Titoism and Serbian hegemony] and the persistent threat to the Albanians' survival change the way they structure their lives? Will the obsession with conservative ideals, with familism and gender stratification championed by the Albanian masses be abandoned? Would Kosova's independence promote a new world view, or would the uncertainty brought about by a new political order inspire Albanians to find psychological security in Tradition? (1992: 100)

Nita Luci, a Kosovar anthropologist, in her recent ‘ethnography of nation and statebuilding’ (2014: 12) argues that ‘tradition was not reduced to a simplistic protection of the past, but a

necessary condition for the creation of new cultural values in Kosova' (2014: 48). Accordingly, tradition is "invented and reinvented" for the "task of building legitimacy for the nation's independence movement" (2014: 16) during the 90s resistance. She points out that "through [the] politics of culture that recreated tradition for social solidarity, Kosovars created/produced opportunities to ultimately practice and define survival" (2014: 48). However, the "new world view" promoted by Kosova's independence or post-war "rehearsal" towards independence, is argued to be tainted by "aesthetics of power". Luci points out:

> Dominant practices have taken on meanings of dignity and agency that become ascribed to men, first as leaders of a peaceful resistance and later as freedom fighters. While women had been part and often lead [sic] these movements, post-war memory and state building has pushed them to pre-war "traditional roles" (2014: 253).

By focusing on the politics of power and representation, Luci argues that "what general and public opinion has consented to is an ethicized patriarchy, often violent, embedded in all its structural and representational forms. Through naturalization of bodies and body politic, both the dominant and oppositional forces in Kosova fall short and fail horribly to create a "civic" option for politics and culture" (2014: 200).

Although conducted at different times, both anthropological accounts reflect on the uses of tradition in different times and under different political regimes. In spite of that, both accounts are insights into the nature of everyday life as 'lived practice' in the private and rural (Reineck, 1991) context and in a public and mostly urban one (Luci, 2014). By studying everyday life in the context of moral economy, tradition and migration, Reineck tells the story of society lacking

confidence to change or/and re-invent tradition, whereas Luci examines the gendered trajectories of re-invented traditions as embedded in moral, political, cultural and aesthetic post-war statebuilding ideologies. The latter account, however, provides a view of not just 'structures' as objectifications of normative ideologies but also "the "cultural work" that goes into gender and nation relevant categories of dynamics of everyday life" (2014: 246).

I started with those two arguments aiming to highlight a particular anthropological impulse to describe and examine Kosovar life in the context of political, economic, social and cultural change: the critical impulse to identify particular political regimes of representations that continue to shape, in Luci's words, "imagined national identities of the future" (2014: 55). In this context, an anthropology of Kosova is constantly trying to either implicitly or explicitly cast the question: what kind of state and society is Kosova becoming in her future path as an independent state, given the complex historical, political, social and cultural past in which it is entangled? "What is to become of things?" is indeed the question that has constantly shaped, directly or indirectly, the anthropological research of postsocialisms, sometimes framed within the paradigm of "what was socialism and what comes next[?]" (Verdery, 1996). There are certainly elements of both, fear and care, disillusion and compassion, felt and expressed by anthropologists for the state and nature of affairs that are coming to be in various postsocialisms, the typical and specific pathways and trajectories, the constant and disrupted transitions and transformations, emerging agencies and enduring structures.

As I will analyse in this chapter and throughout the dissertation, Kosovars have manifold relationships with their past. Although there are tendencies to re-traditionalisation in everyday context, as asserted by Saltmarshe (2002) in Albania, and Kadriu (2009) and Luci (2014) in Kosova, the spectre of relationships with the past is extensive, layered and more complicated that

it can be argued in the re-traditionalisation thesis. As I have come to understand in my ethnography, Kosovars also express concerns and ambivalences towards both, tradition and modernity. As I will show in three core chapters of this thesis, the aspiration to modernise and traditionalise is essential to the institution of Kosovar cuisine and gastronomy in general. This can be witnessed in the way in which cuisine is constructed, combined, presented, 'aestheticised', standardised, territorialised and de-territorialised at the same time. Despite the tendency to display 'roots' in a re-traditionalisation process, chefs, restauranteurs, waiters and the catering industry in general attempt to identify, appropriate and re-present restaurants as 'routes' to what is considered as modernity, Europe and globalisation. On the other hand, the 'routines' of eating and drinking out are also articulated as endeavours to create 'normalcy' and 'civility' associated with freedom, play and leisure. "To have a normal life" is the quintessential quest of local people in Kosova. Thus, the past may not be just a 'refuge' to hide in, nor an 'invention' to legitimise power.

In this dissertation, my research evidence leads me towards a slightly different path. I pursue a theoretical pathway that flows from the ethnographic intensities experienced and felt in the field: from the ways in which people experience, construct, narrate, reproduce, and negotiate tradition, to the ways in which selected 'culture' is displayed and performed as 'tradition'.[7] The past is inextricably linked and layered into the present, and the present is in constant search for the past, to re-invent it. The past is always already in the present, objectified in ideas, practices and materialities. Second, tradition can be rejected, invented, negotiated and sustained. The main thrust of material culture studies (Miller, 1995, 2009; Tilley, 1999, 2006; Buchli, 2002), as I have come to understand, profoundly challenges the view that tradition is static, higher, and transcendent, in light of the new research that both culture and tradition *become* in the process of

[7] This is discussed this in chapter 3.

objectification, creativity and appropriation in everyday life context. It is the world around us, as Tilley puts it, which 'affords' us the capacity to perceive ourselves: "through making, using, exchanging, consuming, interacting and living with things people make themselves in the process"(2006: 61). There are various ways in which we materialise and are materialised as social beings and ways in which this process is constantly challenged and negotiated, refused and appropriated. Miller argues that (1995: 17) "we are edging towards what might be called a 'third way' anthropology, which stands for moral and qualified objectivism between narrow positivistic science and self-indulgent aestheticised irrationalism" (1995: 20).

I try to elicit, in a dialogical approach, a restaurant-oriented view which may provide some evidence to the theoretical knowledge of food culture in Kosova, in the light of new changes that have taken place there with restaurants leading culinary, gustemic and social aspects of gastronomic development. [8] How do restaurants construct the Kosovar cuisine, and how are they constructed in this process? How are traditions "peeled" and "stuffed"? How are people "peeled" in the complex and multi-layered conviviality? How are restaurants re-configured and shaped in this process? If tradition and change need to be witnessed, experienced and examined in lived practice beyond structures, ethnicities and "transitologies", then what happens to the stomach, the table and the cooking pot, may be directly linked to what happens to the head, the messages and the whole public sphere.

Kosova: History, Myth, and Ideology

It is often said that the Balkans can produce more history that people there can bear. In his introduction to *The Balkan Cookbook*, Vladimir Mirodan notes that one of his colleagues told him that "the Balkans never cooked up anything but wars!" (1987: 8). Certainly, in what is

[8] This is discussed in methodology section of chapter 2 in more details

referred to as Western conception, terms such as 'ancient hatred', 'ethnic wars' and 'prejudices for each-other' have become common stereotypes for the Balkans, something which is referred to as 'Balkanism' (Todorova, 1997).[9] To what extent is this the case? Have people in this region always been fighting with each other, or is it the case that they have been subjects of ideological engineering? Thorough historical research reveals that, in the Balkans, history has *de facto* been used and abused to forge or reinforce political ideologies. Following these premises, the main focus of nation-builders was to find the national figure in "Ottoman carpet" (Neuburger, 2004). As researchers argue, in the process of de-orientalisation, the whole carpet was saturated and the small figure was valued as the relic through which the whole pre-Ottoman glory can be reconstructed to serve as a model for national consciousness (Malcolm, 2002; Sugar, 1995; Verdery, 1996; Todorova, 2004; Neuburger, 2004; Schwandner-Sievers & Fischer, 2002).

Since the 19th century, when nation-states were formed, nationalism has been a driving force shaped by industrialisation and capitalism (Anderson, 2006; Hobsbawmn, 1992; Gellner, 1997) and cultural and ethnic predisposition (Smith, 1991; Llobera, 1994; MacClancy, 2007). In the Balkan context, myth, religion and traditional peasant culture (considered as the backbone of ethnicity) were used by elites as tools to forge nationalisms (Sugar, 1995). It is argued that Balkan nations sought to organise their histories as independent nation-states liberated from the Ottoman rule (Todorova, 1997). The local elites identified ways to materialise national identities in the minds of common people. They put forward strong ideas of nation as 'cradle', 'heart' 'monastery', 'blood', etc.[10] They dreamt up the nation as an 'object from the past' (Lowenthal,

[9] The 'ancient hatred' discourse is triggered mainly in West, R. (1941) *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: the Record of a Journey through Yugoslavia,* London: Macmillan and Kaplan, R. (1993), *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History*, New York: St. Martin's Press, For a critical overview of 'ancient hatred' thesis with a reference to the Bosnian case, see Malcolm, N. (1996), *Bosnia: A Short History,* London: Macmillan, pp. xix-xxii. For a critical view to Kosovo case see the anthropological account provided in Duijzings, G. (2001), *Religion and Politics of Identity in Kosovo*, Oxford: Berg

[10] In his account of nationalism, Kenneth Minogue, started the book by saying that "nationalism, as the story is told

1985) that needed to be resurrected and appropriated as the ultimate source of power for the struggling present (Vickers, 1998; Živković, 2011; Gordy, 1996; Bakić-Hayden, 2004).

As a central Balkan state, Kosova is shaped by history, myth and ideology. I will try to provide some reflection on existing research that sheds light on Kosova's pasts, including myths, ideologies, and competing local narratives. There is solid research into the history of Kosova that has challenged the Serb and Albanian mythic and ideological interpretation of the history of Kosova (Malcolm, 1998, Vickers, 1998). Thus, my reflection will be brief but, hopefully, relevant.

Kosova's pasts may be categorised as follows: the ancient past, the medieval past, the Ottoman past, and the socialist past. However, the past is also perceived as spatial past. Thus, it is common to hear local people refer to *katun* (village) past or/and tradition and *sheher* (town) past, thus, constituting the way in which social memory is embodied, performed and experienced (Sutton, 2000, 2001). All those mentioned categories of pasts may overlap and conjure, both in practice and discourse. Yet the past is often mythicised and has been serving as ahistorical: attempting to establish identities that are static and not vulnerable to time, change, flux and development.

When dwelling into the historical context, it is not an exaggeration to state that political ideologies used nation and ethnicity as a means for political ends that caused recent wars in ex-Yugoslavia. It was mainly for ideological reasons that Kosova turned into a conflict, followed by a war. The gradual build-up to the Kosova war was caused by populism of Milosevic's regime and mythomania in Serbian politics. Following the ideological interpretations of history, the

---

generally, begins as a Sleeping Beauty and ends as Frankenstein's monster" (1967: 7). See Minogue, K. (1967), *Nationalism*, London: Basic Books. Similarly, the Serbian anthropologist Marko Živković (2011) has interpreted the Serbian national imaginary in the times of Milošević, as 'dreamtime' turning into a 'nightmare' for Serbs and their neighbours.

Serbs claimed Kosova as the 'cradle' of Serbia. This thesis has castigated the idea of religious heritage as formative of Serbian civilisation and the Serbian 'Jerusalem'. Myths were "resurrected" (Duijzings, 2000: 196) and historical events became "totem[s] of identity" (Malcolm, 1998: 58). According to the Serbian ethnonationalist version of history, Serbs fought against the Ottoman Empire in 1379. Although they got defeated their spirit was in continuous revolt against the Turks. [11] According to this popular thesis, with the advent of the Ottoman Empire, Albanians migrated from North Albania to Islamised areas and took over most of Kosova. In 1912 Serbs liberated Kosova from Turks, but in 1945 they lost some of their control due to the communist self-determination principles that prevailed under Tito's Yugoslavia. In addition, this thesis assumes that the Albanians had privileges in Tito's Yugoslavia at the expense of Serbs (see Malcolm, 1998, Vickers, 1998).

It has been more than a decade since the war, and Kosova is still perceived by Serbs as their 'identity'. It constitutes the Serbian 'Dreamtime', their 'Jerusalem', and their 'Medieval Empire' with monasteries, churches and graveyards.[12] However, in the words of an anthropologist doing his fieldwork in Kosova during the 90s, "many of the Kosova's problems are not ethnic in origin, but have been ethnicised by politicians who want easy political gain and

[11] For further analysis of the 'Battle of Kosovo' (1379) and the ideological uses and abuses see Bakić-Hayden, M. (2004), 'National Memory as Narrative Memory: The Case of Kosovo', in *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*, Todorova, M. ed. London: Hurst, pp.25-40; Zirojević, O. (2000), 'Kosovo in the Collective Memory', in Popov, N. & Gojkovič, D. (eds) *The Road to War in Serbia*, Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000); Vucinich, W. (ed) (1991), *Kosovo: Legacy of a Medieval Battle,* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. On an Albanian version of the memory of the battle, see the recent work of di Lellio, A. (2009) *The Battle of Kosovo 1389: An Albanian Epic,* London: IB Tauris

[12] For such an argument see the interpretation given by Serbian anthropologist: Živković, M. (2011), *Serbian Dreambook: National Imaginary in the time of Milošević*, Indiana University Press, Indiana. This book has been criticised for not being an ethnography of "ordinary people" in Serbia, as it should be expected from an anthropologist, but a critical interpretation of political and academics elites in Belgrade and their ideological adventures. For this see the review by Ivana Bajic-Hajdukovic (2011) at H-net. http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=34419 [Accessed on 21 May 2013]. Although, Hajdukovic's argument is a critique of the author on the theoretical and methodological level, the 'ethnographic fact' provided by Živković strengthen the argument that it was the elites, academic and political, that reproduced such ideologies and not the 'ordinary people'.

by populations who have learned to be deeply suspicious of 'others', especially if these 'others' belong to a different ethnic group" (Duijzings, 2000: 204).

The Serbian ideological claims were counteracted with a more pragmatic and moderate Albanian claim. The Albanians, who were demographically a larger population in Kosova for the last 100 years, defended the claim that Kosova is the ancient Dardania, the land of the pears, where their ancestors (Dardanians, an Illyrian tribe) lived and prospered before the Serbs migrated there from the north-east. Their claim is based mainly on the linguistic and historical sources that identify Kosova as the continuous territorial and linguistic identity of Dardania.[13] For example, it is stated that the word Dardania, can be explained by the Albanian word for pear (*dardhë*). The Kosovar historian, Zef Mirdita, in his rigorous study of ancient sources presents 'relics' of Dardanian social life. Among others things, he notes that several ancient authors pointed to a popular cheese produced in Dardania and exported to Rome. He states that "in our opinion, this cheese-making tradition is preserved today in the production of Sharr cheese" (1979: 8). Thus, the idea of Dardanians as the ancestors of Albanians of Kosova became of sentimental interest to the Albanian intellectual elite in Kosova. Some evidence mentioned in the ancient texts, such as Dardanian cheese, and other "ancient customs", identified in surviving folk culture, such as "Darka e Lamës"[14] (Thanksgiving dinner), were revitalised and promoted by Ibrahim Rugova, the President of Kosova, as 'signs' of ancient traditions that survived among Albanians within Kosova's territory. The Dardanian discourse is one of the narratives structuring the discourse of the political and cultural identity of Kosova. There are, however, other

[13] See Wilkes, 1995; Stipčević, 1980; Katičič, 1976 for Illyrian thesis, and Papazoglu, 1978; Mirdita, 1978; Shukriu, 2004; Malcolm, 1998; Durham, 1923 for Dardanin thesis.

[14] This is celebrated by the President's office since 2002 when Rugova declared 'Darka e Lamës' as an official holiday. Rugova invited international guests on 25 of October to a state dinner. He referred to celebrating with family and guests after harvesting, as a tradition that has survived since ancient times. In a similar style to Abraham Lincoln's appropriation of 'Thanksgiving', Rugova selected this 'survivance' and promoted as a practice for the new state to come. 'Darka e Lamës' was officially celebrated since then, but it is not a state holiday.

narratives that have played an essential role in post-war Kosova, namely the narrative of Adem Jashari, known as the *legendary commander*.[15] The 'European' discourse, and especially the 'Euro-Atlantic integration' discourse, is also argued to be another standpoint in the "reconstruction of Albanian political identity" in postwar Kosova (Ingimurdarson, 2007:1).

Fig.2. 'Darka e Lamës 2003', President Ibrahim Rugova and his guests @trepca.net

According to the Albanian view, they have fought in the 'Battle of Kosovo' in 1389 as allies with the other Balkan peoples against the Ottoman Empire. During the 500-year rule they had fought against the Ottomans, and Skanderbeg, their medieval hero, is the strong historical evidence of their continuous struggle against the Ottoman Empire (Schmitt, 2009; Clayer, 2012). The Albanians got united under the League of Prizren (1878) seeking independence as a nation on the basis of ethnic and territorial identity. The independent state was declared in 1912 but

[15] Adem Jashari together with fifty-eight members of Jashari extended family died in a battle against Serb forces in March 1998 in his 'kulla' stoned house in Drenica. His story inspired many Albanians, including those living abroad to take up arms and engage in military fight against Serbia's military forces. After the war, his 'kulla' became a 'shrine' for Albanians. For more see (Schwandner-Sievers & De Lellio, 2006)

much of Albanian lands were left out. By then Serbs occupied Kosova, and since that time they have colonised the place and exerted violence on the Albanian majority in Kosova (Malcolm, 1998; Clark, 2000). In 1945 Kosova was left unjustly under Yugoslavia instead of being united with Albania. Although Communism is perceived as bad system, most Albanians claim that it gave them the opportunity to build some institutions which now they negotiate as traditional (Schmitt, 2012). When Serbia occupied Kosova again in 1989, the Albanian intellectual elites, led by Ibrahim Rugova, the peaceful architect of Kosova's independence, put up the strategy for independence and the KLA (Kosova Liberation Army), assisted by NATO Allied Forces, won the freedom and paved the way for Kosova's independence that Albanians should enjoy and build (Judah, 2008; Schmitt, 2012).

These two general perspectives have been a major source of political and national imagination in relation to the history of Kosova. It is evident that in the case of Kosova, history serves as an 'adjudicator' of ideas, practices, and rights. Wars in ex-Yugoslavia were launched in the name of historical claims propagated by ideologues and radical nationalists. It is argued strongly that historians and academics manipulated history to pave the way for their ideological engineering of political thinking in the region. In the case of Kosova, it has been similarly argued by other writers that such an ideological attitude to history gave rise to Milosevic, otherwise known as the 'Butcher of Belgrade', who launched wars in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosova. Recent critical analysis have demystified the myth and the stereotypical view of the Balkans – the so called 'powder keg', where as soon as some political administration falls down, 'ancient hatreds' flare up (Malcolm, 1998, Vickers, 1998; Živković, 2011; Duizjings, 2000; Gordy, 1996).

The Ottoman heritage and legacy

In the 15th century the territory of Kosova came under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, and remained under its rule until 1912 when it was conquered by Serbia (Malcolm, 1998). It is argued that during Ottoman rule, Kosova cultivated specific products as 'saffron' and 'silk-worms' and one of the main characteristics of Kosova was beekeeping.[16] During this time in the small towns of Kosova over 50 types of crafts were recorded. Guilds and other networks began to enrich the urban life in Kosova, dominating it until the end of the 19th century. In the first centuries of Ottoman domination, the rise of the Islam phenomenon was more urban than rural. Many Kosova Albanians converted to this religion during the 16th and 17th centuries to form the Muslim majority in Kosova. Various towns such as Prishtina, Prizren, Vushtrri, and so on cultivated a tradition of craftsmanship, trade and textile.[17]

The Ottoman past is witnessed in the very fabric of urban life in Kosova today. Mosques, hamams, houses, streets, bazaars, and other aspects of architecture reflect the traces of an Ottoman past. Cuisine and food are also perceived as the crucial elements of an Ottoman cuisine legacy. In his study of the Ottoman legacy in Europe and the Middle East, the Turkish historian Halil Inalçik has argued that "present conditions in the approximately twenty states that emerged from the disintegration of the empire […] are certainly influenced by their Ottoman past. Their capital cities (such as Sofia, Belgrade, Sarajevo, Skopje) offer a myriad [of] examples of Ottoman architecture and urbanism…their popular cultures, cuisines, and lifestyles , as well as the general behaviour of their peoples, also offer evidence of the Ottoman centuries" (1996: 18). Replying to Balkan historiography, Inalçik argues that the "question of backwardness –or

[16] Beekeeping is still a very popular practice in Kosova. See Gowning (2011)
[17] A comprehensive view of the developments in Kosova under late Ottoman Empire see Schmitt, O.J. (2012), *Kosova: histori e shkurtër e një treve qendrore ballkanike*, Koha, Prishtinë. (In English - *Kosova: A Short History of a Central Balkan state*)

progress – bears of racist form, however, if posed as a claim that the Turks were responsible for the backwardness of certain societies" (1996: 19). He argues further that the Ottoman Empire was not a Turkish Empire. According to him, it was a "multilingual, multireligious, and multicultural political system that is most appropriately compared to other empires that have existed throughout history."(1996: 19). Similarly, Faroqhi argues that "there seems to be a widespread agreement that the bad "Ottoman legacy" belongs more into the realm of perception than into that of "hard", "objective" realities""(1999: 201).

In general, in most Balkan countries the Ottoman rule is viewed as having had an entirely negative legacy. It is often claimed that Ottomans destroyed the flourishing national identity, imposed an 'alien' administrative system and pushed the rule of converting the conquered populations into Islam. As a result, the ruled Christians were reduced to simple land workers, hence the region descended into a deep 'backwardness'. However, as I mentioned, recent historiographical studies on the role of the Ottoman Empire in Europe have criticised some of these claims.[18]

There are two recent historical approaches that prevail in the treatment of Balkan cultures under Ottoman Empire. The first approach focuses on the assumption that Balkan Christians lived fairly isolated lives, with little interference of Ottoman authorities as long as taxes were paid. Those Christian subjects developed their own provincial culture and when they became independent from the Ottoman Empire they revealed their peasant 'autochthonous Christian substratum below' (Faroqhi, 1999; Todorova, 1996). The second approach argues that Muslims

[18] The role of Ottoman Empire in Europe has been the focus of much research and debate in the last decades. For more see Inalçik, H. (1996), "The meaning of Legacy: The Ottoman Case" in Brown, C.L. (ed.), *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East,* NY, Columbia University Press; Itzkowitz, N., (1996) "The problem of Perception" in L. Carl Brown (ed.), *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East*, NY, Columbia University Press; Goodman, D. (2002), *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press; Sugar, F.P. (1977), *South-eastern Europe under the Ottoman Rule 1354 – 1804*, Washington: University of Washington Press,

and Christians of the Ottoman Empire lived alongside each other and exchanged many ideas, values, practices and institutions. Given the dominant character of Ottoman imperial civilisation, the assumption is that many institutions filtered down from Muslim to non-Muslim subject. In analysing the historical discourse, Maria Todorova provides two interpretations of the Ottoman legacy in the Balkans. The first one regards the Ottoman period as an alien intrusion, and the other one sees this era as a symbiosis of Turkish, Islamic and Byzantine/Balkan traditions. The central problem of dealing with the Ottoman legacy in the Balkans in general is the question of continuity and break (Todorova, 1996).

The strong connection between self and nation, the concept of the list of historical grievances, the intergenerational submission of attitudes, lack of knowledge about the other, the egoism of victimisation, war as a therapy which temporarily cools the heart and inability to negotiate differences are also some of the identified elements left from the Ottoman legacy (Itzkowitz, 1996). However, on the level of "popular culture and everyday life, the Ottoman legacy proved more persistent. One can look for it in authentic Ottoman elements (architecture and urban structure, food, music, the institution of coffee-house, etc.)" (Todorova, 1996: 58). In regards to food, Todorova suggests that an observation about Bulgaria could be generalised for the whole of the Balkan area:

> The greater abundance and diversification of food made dishes previously confined only to Muslim urban elites increasingly part of the diet of the whole urban population and of large segments of the rural population. Thus while the *haute cuisine* of the limited Bulgarian urban elites tended to become more Europeanized in the last decades of the

> nineteenth century, the general cuisine of Bulgaria (Christian and Muslim alike) became increasingly Ottomanized after the end of the Ottoman rule (1996: 59)

Todorova also provides a strong argument regarding the attempts to break with the Ottoman legacy. It seemed to be an ideology shared among all nations in the Balkans. Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, Albania and others spent a lot of energy and time engaging with 'the Ottoman past'. This is known as the process of 'de-orientalisation' and signifies various means of excavating beneath the Ottoman past to find the authentic cultural 'signs' that prove the origin and provides the model to reconstruct the contemporary way of life (see also Neuburger, 2004). This is an argument that, according to her, has been noticed in various historiographies of the region. She notes that:

> The difficulty of differentiating between Ottoman and traditional cultures has led to the methodological solutions such as treatment of "de-Ottomanization", "de-Orientalization", "de-Balkanization", and "de-patriarchalization" as synonyms. Yet, as long as research continues to ignore the axis Balkan- Ottoman, and instead follows exclusively the two bipolar axes traditional Balkan culture – the West, and Ottoman culture – the West, this important aspect of social history will be trivialized into the traditional–modern dichotomy (1996: 59-60)

The process of de-Ottomanisation lasted during most of the twentieth century. The Balkan nations were involved in various stages of de-Ottomanisation searching for new orientation, a process which is undergoing (Hartmuth, 2006). The post-Ottoman Balkans has discerned into a

path where "most of the Balkan countries initiated processes of modernization understood and defined as Europeanization. Dependent on the point of time of liberation from Ottoman domination, they appropriated West European state institutions, attire or urban planning strategies; many mosques, bazaars and Ottoman-era buildings and complexes were eliminated and replaced by 'European' ones. For these countries, with the exception of Greece, World War II ended with the emergence of a new and even more radical concept of de-Ottomanization – under the umbrella of socialism; Since 1989 these countries have been, like most of the rest of the globe, in a process of adaptation to a globalizing world" (Gino & Kaser, 2012: 3). The elites in the Balkans utilised this notion and used it as a vice in the independence struggle to aid their destruction of urban elements that "reminded them of what they perceived as the Ottoman Oriental rule, which, in their view, distanced them from Europe, from their own medieval golden age and from civilisation as a whole" (Gino & Kaser, 2012: 11). Thus, socialism seems to have adopted the 'feedback mechanism' (Llobera, 2004) to excavate the pre-Ottoman past to replenish the 'scarce identity' through magnifying cultural difference and appropriating symbolic resources (Harrison, 1999) and through a process of de-Ottomanisation of cultural milieu, including language.[19]

One of the most important reflections of the Ottoman legacy in the Balkans, especially among Albanians, is certainly Islam and its local manifestations and the place given to Ottomans

[19] For a discussion of the meaning of Ottoman legacies in the Balkans, see Todorova, M. (2004) 'Introduction: Learning Memory, Remembering Identity', in Todorova, M. (ed), *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory,* London: Hurst; Adanir, F. and Faroqhi,S. eds.,(2002) *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography,* Leiden: Brill; Millas, H. (2008), 'Ethnic Identity and Nation Building. On the Byzantine and Ottoman Historical Legacies', in Detrez, R. and Segaert, B. (eds) *Europe and the Historical Legacies in the Balkans,* Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang. For a general view of Balkans in western discourse see Hammond, A. (ed.) (2004) *The Balkans and West: Constructing the European Other, 1945–2003*. Surrey: Ashgate,

in the collective memories and national myths (Ginio &Kaser, 2012).[20] As mentioned earlier, the mythical view that Ottomans repressed every aspect of life is challenged in the recent research. As Blumi argues, "the problem with anachronistic line of thinking that emphasizes ethnicity lies in the fact that throughout Kosova's history, identity, be it ethnic or religious, was by its very nature fluid and therefore multiple, as people faced new kinds of structural and economic realities. This can be further explored by concentrating on how, during the expansion of the early Ottoman state, the existing religious communities in Kosova (both the Eastern and Western churches) interacted with the Islamic state. The very fact that Orthodox institutions predating Ottoman rule are still functioning highlights a dynamic of cohabitation rather than cultural (and ethnic) hegemony over the entire 1450-1912 period" (2006: 4).

One of the most apparent Ottoman legacies developed under the dynamics of cohabitation during the Ottoman rule in the Balkans, in the everyday life and material culture in the Balkans, is food and cookery (Kaneva-Johnson, 1998). This legacy of cohabitation is also witnessed in the urban landscape in some of the Balkan cities, which are constantly undergoing transformations since the Second World War (Duijzings, 2010). Yet the idea of cohabitation was played out in the new project of socialist cohabitation. Paradoxically, socialism in Yugoslavia was often permeated by the idea of alienating those who were 'polluted' by the 'oriental past'. Reineck (1991) argues, both religion and tradition were perceived as sources of 'backwardness' and Albanian conservatism. The extent to which Kosovar Albanians and other minorities embraced 'Yugoslavness' as a political cultural and consumer identity, may indicate the way in which they relate to socialism and postsocialism.

[20] For representative view of the ways in which myths were constructed in relation to the past and especially the Ottoman past see Schwander-Sievers, S and Bernd J. Fischer, (eds) (2002), *Albanian Identities: Myth and History* London: Hurst, and for general view Todorova, M. ed., (2004), *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory* London: Hurst.

Socialism, food and eating out in Kosova

It is now common argument that 'Yugoslavness' had its strong roots in the pan-Yugoslav partisan resistance movement and in Tito, the paternalistic father figure (Luthar & Pušnik, 2010: 5). After the Second World War, Yugoslav socialism was constructed upon the model of Soviet socialism. Following the break with the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia opened its doors to the Western culture and market. Soon thereafter it forged an alternative model of socialism known as 'worker's self management' or 'Titoism' as it was called in the West (Barnett, 2006). Yugoslavia pursued the route of finding an 'authentic socialism' that worked for the people of the federation which were called upon to live together under the paradigm of 'brotherhood and unity'. Until constitutional changes in 1974, the idea of self-management had its ups and downs. After the 1974 constitutional reforms, Prishtina witnessed some major developments in the political, economic, social and cultural levels. As a university town, Prishtina is remembered as a vibrant town buzzing with young people. As it has been recently argued, the consumer 'normality' had been a key marker of Yugoslav exceptionalism (Bracewell, 2012). The confrontation with Stalin's Soviet Union in 1948 produced some substantial changes in the Yugoslav communism, thus marking a new reformed model distinguished by political decentralisation and market-oriented economic reforms. As Bracewell argues, for "ordinary Yugoslavs, better living standards – measured in terms of supply and quality of consumer goods, including food – represented one of the most obvious differences between their lives and those of their neighbours in countries of the Bloc" (2012:171).

The 1974 autonomy provided Albanians with the opportunity to build and run their own local 'province' institutions. These reforms in the Yugoslav system paved the way for further reforms. As Mertus puts it, "when reforms against repression begin, repression becomes less tolerable, so

goes the Machiavellian proposition. Nowhere does this maxim hold truer than in Kosovo. From 1971 to 1981 Albanians in Kosovo progressively gained rights and, in the process, experienced unparalleled progress in the fields of education, science and culture."(1999:17). Kosovar Albanians gained confidence and decided to take action for greater change in 1981 claiming a 'republic' for Kosova like the other six republics of the federation. On the basis that Albanians in Yugoslavia were not a nation (*nacion, narod*) but a national minority (*nacialnost, narodnost*) belonging to a nation (Albania) outside the federation, they could not have two nations. Some feared that the promotion of an Albanian nation within Yugoslavia would challenge the country's integrity (Mertus, 1999).

Recent research in the material culture of everyday life as lived in socialist Yugoslavia gravitates around the understanding of ways in which socialist power was negotiated at the personal level in the context of everyday life. Anthropologists as well as cultural historians have looked at tourism and the leisure industry (Grandits & Taylor, 2010) and consumption and everyday life (Luthar & Pušnik, 2010; Bren & Neuburger, 2012). The focus is mainly on the 'traces' of 'banal socialism' (Luthar & Pušnik, 2010: 2) and the ways in which some of the practices engendered and developed during the socialist project, noting directly or indirectly their continuity and transformation in what are considered to be postsocialist states.

As the unique socialist country, Yugoslavia was seen as being more 'liberal' than the other communist countries. For example, the Yugoslavian government designed a programme to 'turn workers into tourists' and the state had sponsored excursions and built subsidised recreational centres across the country. Taylor & Grandits argue:

> The communist endeavour to create a 'new socialist man' who would embody and display a modern habitus was also extended to tourism, not least because of its symbolic value and ability to facilitate legitimacy by providing pleasure. Moreover, the leaders recognized that the principle of 'Brotherhood and Unity' – the central slogan devised to mould the peoples of Yugoslavia into one socialist nation – could be enacted through the peaceful coexistence of contended workers relaxing at the beach. Holidays and tourism could be utilized to create a new Yugoslav awareness among the population and thus transcend the national, political and religious entities so viciously played out during the Second World War" (Grandits & Taylor, 2010: 5-6)

The state played the supervising role in their provision of good living standards and social cohesion for the 'citizens' of Yugoslavia. In the decades following the war, Yugoslavia enjoyed an economic growth and introduced the "workers self-management' programme which gave rise to that so-called 'socialist Yugoslavism" (Grandits & Taylor, 2010: 5-6)

The manner in which the socialist state of Yugoslavia used tourism and holiday, it also used some of other aspects of social life such as food. The Yugoslav cuisine was also created to reflect the 'brotherhood and unity' of the peoples of Yugoslavia, joining one table full of food provided for them. Patrick H. Patterson argues that the participation of different ethnic groups in Yugoslav flourishing mass culture known as the 'Good Life', cemented a Yugoslav identity, which was cherished until the economic crisis of the 1980s. He notes that losing stable consumer identities was partly responsible for the rise of ethnic nationalism in the 1990s and the following conflicts.[21] Analysing cookbooks in Yugoslavia, Wendy Bracewell argued, "Yugoslavia did not

[21] See Patterson, P.H. (2011), *Bought and Sold: Living and Losing a Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.

collapse because of the shortage of cooking oil or coffee…still, when consumers could no longer take for granted the availability of one-time luxuries they had been taught to see as normal and even necessary aspect of daily life, their faith in the system eroded"(2012, 170). The consumer 'normality' witnessed as exceptional in Yugoslavia, was a marker of difference with the neighbouring socialist countries.

Kosova as a province was lagging behind all regions in economic development until the early 70s, when Kosova received its autonomy. Reineck (1991) also witnessed that migration was mostly economically motivated and all regions of Kosova were engaged in rural-urban, internal or external migration. Most people migrated due to poverty and scarcity that dominated Kosova at the time. People in her region of fieldwork referred to good living standards as '*jetesë*' [wellbeing] and 'kushte' (living standards). According to her, the Albanian ethical structure is clear: social status doesn't depend on material wealth but on moral reputation. Although this seems to be the norm, Reineck (1991) found out that both moral reputation and material wealth combined gave people authority. Kinship and community relations were also shaped by the way in which people behaved in relation to materiality and the coded morality.

Although unhappy with the political status and the way they were treated by Serbian nationalistic propaganda, Kosovar Albanians partook in the 'consumer normalcy' in Yugoslavia. Living standards are articulated as conditions (in Alb. *kushte*). In the words of my 72-year-old uncle who lived in the village, those who had *kushte* lived well. They were usually perceived as working for the state.

> They had their *frigorifer* (fridge) full of things. You would know a family that had *kushte* by looking at their wealth. If they had *banesa,* [state apartment] *kerr,* [car] *mobile*

> [furniture] *and rroga* [salary] to afford to buy new clothes, to go holiday and so on, they had *kushte*. *Katunar* (villagers) didn't have *kushte* although some of them worked hard and had money and many went abroad. Only those whose boys were employed in the state and had *rroga* (salary) were perceived as doing well. For *katunar* lacked cash. They worked all year round and everything they sold was maybe less than one month's wages. This has always been the fate of *katunar*. [22]

The pursuit of culinary modernisation in socialist Yugoslavia was promoted in Kosova too. This was mainly provided in the form of 'necessary advice' for the recent migrants to urban towns in Kosova, without leaving aside the 'emancipation of villages' also. The educational programme consisted of specific modules that aim to 'emancipate' pupils at an early age to behave according to scientific socialist modernity, at home and in public. I remember that as a pupil I learned 'amvisnia' (housekeeping) in school, a guideline about cleanliness, health, modern behaviour, and so on. Posters, brochures and books with various images illustrating 'how to' behave in a 'contemporary age' were essential material in schools, factories and everywhere. The emancipation process based on the 'scientific evidence' was similarly promoted in gastronomy too. *Rilindja*, the Prishtina daily, published consistent articles (with pictures) regarding the use of modern kitchens, utensils, food and house ideals. Although there weren't any cookbooks in Albanian or by Kosova Albanian authors in the sense they were written and distributed in other languages throughout Yugoslavia, Kosovar newspapers and magazines translated recipes and advice on culinary culture for the local Albanian readers.

[22] Ahmet 72, Prishtina. I remember the discussion in 80s regarding *kushte*. When one of my first cousins was employed in the state system, everyone in the extended family contended that my uncle's family was 'saved' by his son's *rroga* (salary). In nineties and after the war, the saviour was 'the son abroad' remitting to the family.

In the local newspaper "Rilindja", such advice is provided on the basis of 'scientific socialist knowledge' summarised in journalistic writing to be understood by the masses. The articles aimed to teach those who had recently moved from 'village' to 'city' how they were expected and 'should' behave in their modern environment. The socialist system used various means to disseminate the message of 'how to' live in the new modern standards provided by the socialist project.

According to Bracewell, there were many dilemmas and contradictions characterising the conceptual modes of identification in socialist Yugoslavia which can be traced in the Yugoslav cookbooks and gastronomic advice literature. Cookbooks promoted 'brotherhood and unity' in the text, yet recipes were labelled and systemised on a national basis. On the other hand, the Yugoslav cookbooks reflected an eclectic culinary culture, which spawned from locally, regionally, nationally and internationally influenced cuisine. Bracewell, analysing cookbooks, notes that "as supremely didactic texts, they taught the reader not just about cooking but also what it means to be a woman, a mother, and a worker; about how to behave in society; about belonging and difference" (2012:117). Cookbooks provided advice on happy meals, easy and cheap meals, thus helping to legitimise the self-managing socialism. Yet, as Bracewell, notes, underneath the 'brotherhood and unity' rhetoric of cookbook texts and prefaces, many recipes were a systematic reflection on nationality and regionality.

During socialism eating out in Prishtina was considered as either a conspicuous consumption or a necessity. Many informants commonly recall that only the *buxhuvana* (the Communist Party and public company leadership) enjoyed themselves in restaurants. In the words of an elderly informant, "to go to the state restaurant then, it was like to go to the Communist Party meeting….all communist *buxhuvana* (those whose bellies were full up) there

eating and drinking together, Albanians and Serbs". Some elderly remember that they didn't go to the publicly owned 'high restaurants' associated with *hyqmet* (a Turkish-derived word used to refer to government or power). They either ate at home, in *gjellëtore* or at *kantina*, the institutional (usually factory) kitchens serving common meals to workers. *Pasul, gjyveç and gullash* were the main *gjellë* (sometimes called with the Turkish name *çorba*) served in *kantina* (canteens at public institutions). Socialist workers were given food coupons known as *bona*, which were used to get food in public shops such as *Gërmia* and *Voçar* and so on.[23]

Many locals remember that the 'Yugoslav dream' of 'good living standards' was only a dream in Kosova. For my 60-year-old father, high living standards were conditioned for those in power:

> Well, modern restaurants were suitable only for a few people who lived in Prishtina and were employed in high positions in communist institutions. *Populli* [the people] weren't able to indulge themselves in such luxury. We had our *pasul, fli,* and *laknur* ... and food served in *gjellëtore* was the most sophisticated we could get. I am talking about ordinary people. We were hungry for education, rights to self-determination more than anything else. Only *nomenklatura* and *buxhuvana* ate up Yugoslavia. We ate our *pasul* and *burek*.

Often, words such as *buxhuvana* were used as stereotypes in local community for those who were 'opportunists' and benefited from Yugoslavness and socialist consumer culture of Yugoslavia. In many interviews and conversations I had with locals who spent most of their life during socialism, I noted that they spoke about the ethnic differentiation in Yugoslavia.

[23] Many elderly informants remember that in the first years of socialism one could not get food in restaurants without food coupons (*bona*). This is also evident in foreign travel writing on Yugoslavia. See Virmani O.P (1954, 2002) *Round the World with Bicycles*, Stuttgart: Auflage, p. 113. The author reports that they went into a restaurant in Skopje and weren't able to buy food with cash, but had to be given 'food coupons'.

Bracewell notes that "opportunities to participate in the 'Yugoslav dream' were not equally distributed across the whole population…readers were more likely to be able to enjoy the 'good life' if they lived in Slovenia than in Kosovo, in the city rather than in countryside, if they were managers or government officials, and if they were men, than if they were low-paid workers and married women" (2012: 185).

I conversed countless times with my close and extended family members living in Prishtina about what they remember of social life of food during socialism. They told me that food provision came from three sources: *vëtëshërbim* (publicly owned supermarkets), *pazar* (local market) and from *katun* (villages) nearby. Village food was either gifted and/or bought from their kin living in villages. Most families told me that they received food from their kin in villages. Having a family member living in the city was perceived as advantageous. Most of the time food was cooked at home. In the Yugoslav system, the popular Soviet type of communal apartments with shared kitchen was not popular. In Prishtina, each apartment was designed with its own kitchen in mind. The 'city family' was expected to help them when dealing with administrative matters in the city, children education, and general urban and 'modern' matters. Also, traditional norms as reported by Backer (2003), Reineck, (1991), Krasniqi, (2005) 'required' those who had left the kinship cosmology and descended into a 'foreign' urban environment, to respect the 'solidarity' and 'reciprocity' norms embedded within hospitality. As a child , I remember that providing food, drink and shelter for family 'guests' was the quintessential norm of legitimacy in our family. In return, we used to receive food, fruits, wood and many other village 'gifts'. We could also spend our summer and winter 'holidays' in our kin's household in the village. Although the discourse of gift and hospitality was constructed on

the rhetoric of 'pure' gift, the gift was inherently embedded in debt and status within village relations and village-urban relations (Malinowski, 1922; Mauss, 1954).

From 'akçihane' to 'gjellëtore'

In socialist Yugoslavia, food dishes and food practices were inherited from various heterogeneous influences including Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, and Italian cuisine among others. During socialism products were invented, food and cooking was promoted as a pathway to modernity, recipes were standardised, and nations were flagged underneath the mosaic 'Yugoslav cuisine' (Bracewell, 2012). Thus, it may be argued that under the Yugoslav socialist project engineered in the paradigm of 'brotherhood and unity', different ethnic groups may have appropriated (Harrison, 1999) each other's food dishes, culinary practices and foodways. However, historiography places Balkan food in the list of Ottoman heritage and Ottoman legacy (Inalçik, 1996; Faroqhi, 1999, Itzkowitz, 1996). Yet a certain type of *haute cuisine* developed by elites in Ottoman towns (Todorova, 1996), including Kosova towns, became an increasingly popular diet after the second world war, when the urban elites experimented with socialism.

It is evident in local memory that *gjellëtore* have continuously evolved in the historically specific culinary culture of Kosova, appropriating, omitting and transforming changes in the culinary context. Local memory suggests that this has been a long creative process of mixing, combining, resisting, tasting and sophisticating the cooking and the eating of food in local towns. As local culinary institutions, developed in a constant and ongoing process of the objectification of ideas, culinary practices and innovative ingredients, *gjellëtore* challenge the assumptions that they are 'remnants' and 'relics' of 'Ottoman and backward' past that have 'survived' time. In fact, as I will try to show in this section, they are objectifications of continuous diversification of

culinary tactics and strategies in Kosova. They embody a long process of adaptation, re-configuration and change. As such *gjellëtore* are the culinary institutions that have negotiated the 'culinary paradigms' (Ferguson, 2004) of various historical periods of Kosova since Ottoman rule.[24] Although there are no historical studies of *gjellëtore* available, local memory provides vivid gustemic and social accounts of *gjellëtore* since the pre-socialist period. I place them in the context of development of public and domestic culinary systems as well as a social and economic context that may have structured their 'institutionalisation' and their efficacious agency as 'popular eateries'.

It is precisely the cooking and serving of *gjellë* (stew) that gives *gjellëtore* their names, which could be translated literally as 'stewplace'. The suffix 'ore' is common to signify Albanian place-names and sometimes professions. *Gjellëtore* are remembered to have been called *akçihane.*[25] This is a composite term from the Turkish word 'akçi' (cook) and 'han' (house/inn)[26]. Hence, *akçihane* literally being a cooking/eating house, an eatery or a place where one can have cooked food. Such composites are common in Turkey even today, as it is the case with *meyhane*.[27] The only flavour that was given to food was usually *gjizë* (butter) and crushed

[24] In Prishtina, they sustain the pervasive role of prepared food. No discussion of public eating preferences can be complete without exploring some elements of prepared food served in *gjellëtore* and other similar fast-food eateries. Prepared food and fast food is now so commonplace (Schlosser, 2001) that is has become part of our daily habit. Yet, a strict division that classifies restaurants on basis that they serve 'body-food' and 'soul-food' (Pillsbury, 1998) is based on body/mind dualism and ignores the whole process of 'embodiment' and bodily experience of food highly elaborated in recent anthropology of food (Caplan, 1995; Lupton, 1991).

[25] Pre-Ottoman times are perceived as being before the 1912 when Kosova was occupied by Serb forces.

[26] The suffix *han* connotes 'house/inn/place'. In itself it was used in colloquial Albanian to signify 'motels' or 'inns' where one could spend the night if away from their home. Apart from *akçihane*, there were other terms to signify catering places. For example, places such as *meyhane* (winehouse, tavern), *serbethane*, (confectioneries) and *kafehane* (café) are still remembered as being called as such until late 60s. However, during socialism some of those places were linguistically 'de-orientalised'. For example, the *serbethane* (*Serbet* is the Turkish word for sweet) became *ambëltore* (*ambël/ëmbël* is an Albanian word for sweet), the *akçihane* became the *gjellëtore* (gjellë being an Albanian word for stew). The word 'akçi' however is still used in Gjakova and Prizren (in West of Kosova) for the person who cooks in traditional weddings organized at home. Xhemaj (2006) refers to *akçia* as 'the place of cooking in weddings events'. *Akçi/akçia* is also used in various folkloristic material such as wedding songs, anecdotes and so on.

[27] *Meyhane* are still common in Turkey and Middle Eastern countries. They used to serve *meze* (grilled meat) and *raki* (a brandy type) opening usually in the afternoon until late evening. In the past they were generally situated in

dried peppers. In the words of one elderly informant, *akçihane* were called *gjellëtore* since the 50s onwards. The terminology change was a result of an ideological process of 'de-orientalising' the language from various forms of so-called '*barbarizma*' (barbarian terminology) and '*orientalizma*' (oriental terminology) that was generally applied in the Balkans.

These different type of eateries inherited a legacy from the Ottoman urban foodscape, yet all of them changed and appropriated different types of food and foodways as a result of many social, cultural, economic, technological and political factors. Religion was one of such strong factors influencing the emergence of new varieties of eateries particular to the Albanian community. The locals describe the difference between Albanian local eating and drinking places and Serbian *kafana*, in terms of religion and class. Accordingly, the *kafana* served only patties and grilled meat to accompany the drinking of alcohol. For most Kosovar Albanians, Islamic restrictions on food provided the reasons for the emergence of different types of eateries, culinary practices and convivial modes of living. Prishtina was a divided town. Serbs occupied the centre districts, whereas Albanians inhabited the periphery. The *sheherli,*[28] who resided

---

the Christian quarter of Ottoman cities and *meze* eating was a particular slow patern of eating and drinking for pleasure. As alcohol serving places, the *meyhane* provided a unique space for transcendenting the ethnic, religious, and political distinctions characteristic of Ottoman society. They were known as traditional popular entertainment places were diverse music was performed. For a historical view see Boyar, E. & Fleet, K (2010) *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 277-278. For the current Istanbul meyhane see Chase, H. (2006) 'The Meyhane or McDonald's? Changes in eating habits and the evolution of fast food in Istanbul' in Zubaida, S. & Tapper, R. (eds) *A Taste of Thyme: Culinary Cultures of the Middle East*, London: Tauris Park Paperback and IB.Tauris. In Kosova, the *meyhane* were also replaced (in name) by *kafehane* during socialist time. *Kafehane* served *meze* and *raki* and also continued the tradition of singing and drinking. It was revived and renamed mainly by Serbs that called it *kafana*. They served as quintessential forms of entertainment for the Communist elites and were usually hidden in and around Prishtina centre.

[28] In her account of *sheherli* in Macedonia, Burcu Akan Ellis argues that *Şehirlis* in Macedonia come from variety of ethnic backgrounds and from different walks of life. She notes that the distinguishing characteristics of such *sheherli* include "traditional residence in towns as opposed to rural areas and their multilingual repertoire invariably includes Turkish" (2000: 1). She notes that *Şehirlis* in Macedonia were "the living memory" of Ottoman urban life. The term is a tax category for urban dwellers that paid less than those living in *has* (countryside). According to historical accounts those leaving in urban areas were eligible for lower taxation and the main reason for such an exemption was the fact that Balkan cities housed Ottoman administration, religious institutions and military headquarters (Malcolm, 1998; Todorova, 1983; Norris, 1993). In Prishtina, locals argue that *sheherli* were mostly Albanians who spoke Turkish to identify themselves as belonging to higher class. However, the concept is used in colloquial

mainly in the old part of Prishtina, opened their own *gjellëtore* and *çajtore* nearby. Some of *gjellëtore* owners were from Prizren, who in the 70s and 80s migrated to an expanding Prishtina as an economic and educational centre. [29]

It is remembered that *gjellëtore* were the first institutions to appropriate the Yugoslav seasoning products called *Vegeta*. Zahir, one of the chefs who worked in a local *gjellëtore* in Prishtina, remembers that *Vegeta* was used in early 60s in their stews as a table spice. According to him, *Vegeta* entered village kitchens due to the fact that the villager who tasted it in the town *gjellëtore*, bought it for their wives. In the 70s *Vegeta* was introduced throughout Yugoslavia and exported abroad to the eastern socialist bloc too. "Village dishes were either pastries or boiled stews. *Vegeta* was added to stews, soups and almost anything we had with spoons", recalls my informant. As a seasoning powder, *Vegeta* was used to flavour almost anything in Yugoslavia's kitchens. In Kosova, *Vegeta* is remembered to have been firstly used in *gjellëtore* and then to home kitchens in the town. This seasoning powder became the strong 'icon' of Yugoslav cooking and cuisine. The dichotomy city food/village food was blurred by the very flavour of *Vegeta* – a unifying seasoning powder for the 'nations' and 'nationalities' of Yugoslavia.[30]

As the most advanced public kitchens of the time, during socialism *gjellëtore* were the first eateries to cook and serve different types of dishes that were popular in the so-called 'Yugoslav cuisine', which according to Bracewell (2012) was a mosaic of various national and regional dishes. Most factories and large enterprises had their own kitchen or *kantina* (sometimes called *kuhina* in Serbian language) where workers could get their meals paid by their famous *bona* (voucher). *Gullash* was a typical dish served in kantina, which was appropriated by

---

language to refer to those who have migrated to town many decades ago. Often it is used as derogatory concept, to connote 'other identity' mainly an identity that does belong to mixed city and not homogenous village.

[29] Those eateries were used as business places, too. Marriages were approved, land was sold, money was counted, and many other decisions were made in *çajtore*. They were usually opened near *pazars* [markets].

[30] I discuss *Vegeta* in chapter 4

gjellëtore in the late 60s. Local informants remember that cooks working in *kantina* inspired local *gjellëtore* owners to adopt *gullash* on their menus.

Standardisation is not a process particular only to capitalism and globalisation. Both standardisation and globalisation work by the principles of rationalisation (Yung, 2009) and consumer choice cannot be labelled simply a homogenising influence by global 'foodscape' flows. In fact, standardisation is seen precisely as a socialist philosophy. In the context of food and eateries in socialist Kosova, it is safe to propose that standardisation as a norm and the coping strategies of negotiating with the norm in the more liberal self-management type of socialism, as that practiced in Yugoslavia, inspired new forms of diversification, change and creativity in the culinary and gastronomic life. Although purging the 'relics of Ottoman legacy' was imposed by a top-down ideology, food dishes that were traditionally passed from generation to generation were negotiated with new ingredients, practices and styles promoted by the socialist project.

Locals remember that in the process of culinary development, *gjellëtore* included the grilled meat balls served widely in the Balkan region known as *qebapa*. Although Balkan locals claim that the grilled meatballs are traditional to their ethnic cuisine, and call them by different names (Alb: *qebapa, qofte*; Serb, *ćevapi* and *ćevapčići),* it is estimated they originate from the Ottoman cuisine introduced to the Balkans during the Middle Ages. Similar meatballs are present in Turkey, Iran, Greece and various other Middle Eastern countries. There are towns and regions in the Balkans known for this 'specialty'. In Serbia, *Leskovački ćevapi* is a well-known regional *ćevapi or ćevapčići*, as is the Bosnian *Banjalučki ćevapi* as well as *Sarajevski ćevapi* from Sarajevo, almost similar in taste and presentation. In Kosova, the Western town of Prizren is

supposed to serve the best *qebapa* and *qofte*[31] in the country, especially the well-known *qebaptore* called "Te Syla", near the Prizren fountain known as *Shadërvani*.

Other eateries that started to emerge after the Second World War were also the *çajtore* and *burektore*. *Çajtore* are teahouses whereas *burektore* are eateries that serve the famous Balkan-wide *burek.* With the market introduction of Ceylon tea following the Second World War, Kosovars embraced a new culture of tea-drinking that was already popular in Turkey. As Turkey emerged as a republic from the Ottoman Empire, tea became a democratic drink to unite Turkish people in their new republic. In a highly politicised exchange of minorities between Yugoslavia and Turkey, many Albanian families were forced to migrate to Turkey. Through familial and community networks, Albanian families in Kosova started new small trade links with Turkey, with the recently migrated Albanians in Turkey serving as intermediaries.

Tea was one of those products that was gradually replacing the coffee drinking culture in Kosova after the Second World War. In the words of an elderly informant, "before *çaji i Rusit* (Russian tea) came to the village my father used to drink mountain tea. For guests they served coffee and in absence of real coffee they served 'barley coffee', made to simulate coffee". Tea spread in every family and became a quintessential drinking culture mainly for Albanian Muslims. It is still served after meals, sometimes three times a day. As such it has turned into a ritual, sustaining the social relations within the domestic sphere. An invitation to drink tea is an invitation to discuss matters concerning the social life of communities. Nevertheless, the tea is called 'Russian tea' and not Ceylon or Turkish tea. I have asked many locals about the reasons for such a name. Most of them do not remember how it came about. An elderly person who used to go to Serbian *kafana*, told me that the Serbs used to call it 'Ruski čaj' (Russian tea) due to the

[31] There is a difference between '*qebapa*' and '*qofte'* in Kosova. '*Qebapa'* are small meatballs whereas '*qofte'* are larger and longer meatballs.

influence of Russian tea culture. He said that Albanians used only 'çaj mali' (mountain tea) and when this new beverage was introduced they appropriated the name from local Serbs. In the wake of 'de-orientalisation' process any means were used to point to a culture other than Ottoman influence.[32]

Thus, black Ceylon tea became a new sensation in the spawning new Kosovar tea-houses called *çajtore*, which during the period 50s to 90s became essential places in the public sphere of local Albanian community. Tea became a popular drink in homes, served three times a day (after meals) at home and in *çajtore*.[33] Matters concerning politics, community ethics, trade and other affairs were resolved in *çajtore*. As social institutions, *çajtore* served as 'office sites' as well as 'social sites' of objectifying the contractual nature of social and economic relations. One of my informants remembers that *çajtore* "Te Sabiti" in Podujeva town of Llap region was the 'vital' place of economic, social and cultural developments. According to him, "hands were shaken and tea was drunk to celebrate deals on land sale, house building, cow selling, girl-boy matching, etc. 'Te Sabiti' was the centre of Llap affairs".

Burektore on the other hand emerged as places that served only *burek.*[34] *Burek* is a filled pastry, either with cheese or with ground meat, served hot and accompanied with *kos* (yoghourt) or *ajron* (a salted yoghurt).[35] *Burek* and *burek*-making people were stereotypically associated with the "different South", mainly Bosnian Muslims and Albanians in Yugoslavia. This

[32] See chapter 1 for more discussion on this.
[33] Drinking 'çaj rusi is viewed as 'domestic' drinking culture. In almost every Kosovar home tea pots are used to make 'çaj rusi' as part of daily meals, but mostly as part of dinner meals. Around tea drinking Albanians have preserved the domestic practice of *muhabet* (chit-chat). Many new cafés have started to serve 'çaj rusi'.
[34] *Burek* (from Turkish börek) is usually listed as popular street food. 'The word is applied to a family of baked or fried pastries made of a thin flaky dough similar to *phyllo* and filled with cheese, minced meat, vegetables or fruits' (Craig et al, 2013: 35). Although this is considered as Balkan food that survived in the legacy of Ottoman Empire, there are various ways types of *burek* in the region and various ways of making it. *Burek* in Kosovar *burektore* is served as long thin rolled pastry. Whereas *burek* made at home are usually served in round shapes. *Pite, lakror* or *laknur, hithenik are* traditional pastry dishes in Albanian homes that resemble the *burek* (See Halimi-Statovci, 2005).
[35] From Turkish 'ayran' – a salted yoghurts. This is also known as 'lassi' in Indian cuisine, usually in Punjabi restaurants.

stereotypical image of *burek*-making people is referred to as byrekalism (Mlekuž, 2001).[36] *Burektore* are still existent today throughout Kosova, serving different types of burek: with cheese, spinach and ground meat.

Ambëltore (or *ëmbëltore*, in standardised Albanian language) are confectioneries serving sweets and drinks. Almost every town centre had *ambëltore* which provided them with the smell of *boza* (malt drink made of fermented wheat or maize) *sutlaç* (sweet rice pudding), *akullore* (ice cream) and various other sweets. It is a well-known fact that the *ëmbëltore* called "Elida" became the place of the Prishtina cultural "elite" that forged the new political movement in Kosova. This confectionary is placed in the *Boro & Ramiz* complex (now called "Adem Jashari").[37]

Socialist nostalgia

It is pointed out that "personal memories can help us understand individual or collective experiences and the operative logic of everyday culture in socialist Yugoslavia" (Luthar & Pušnik, 2010: 15). To get the feeling of the lived socialism in the everyday life of people and the strategies and tactics (De Certeau, 1988) employed to act and react to power, discipline and also liberty distributed by an ideological system such as that of Yugoslavia, we need to analyse memorial experience as well as documentary and material culture. Luthar and Pušnik argue that "everyday culture and practices are not purposeful political critique of a social system by organized action, nor are they necessarily a counter-hegemonic subversion of dominant social

[36] See Mlekuž, J. (2011), 'Byrekalism: A Slovenian View of Bureks and Burekpeople' in *ANNALES*, Ser. hist. sociol. 21, 2011, 2: 317- 326. Slovenians looked down on Southern neighbours, an attitude that was expressed in popular graffiti in 90s:"Burek? Nein, danke!". See Prošić-Dvornić, M. (2000) 'Serbia: Inside Story' in Halpern, M.J. & Kideckel, D.A (eds) *Neighbours at War: Anthropological perspectives on Yugoslav Ethnicity, Culture and History*, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press. p. 323.

[37] For a map of places serving the public debate in Prishtina during 90s see Zhegrova, D (2013) *The Geography of Public Debate in Prishtina,* in *Kosova 2.0*, Public Space issue, nr. 5 spring/summer, 2013, Prishtina. The complex "Boro& Ramiz" signified the monumentality of brotherhood during socialism.

order and a form of symbolic defiance" (2010: 16). They are not one thing or another but a plethora of things in perpetual negotiation.

How do Kosovar Albanians remember the experience of the socialist system? Most of my informants in Prishtina, whom I have asked about the socialist or communist past, maintain an ambivalent attitude. They remember the socialist system as having a double effect for them: on the one hand it limited and oppressed their ambitions and on the other hand it provided them with opportunities to access modernisation. In general, locals refer to Yugoslavia as *komunizmi* (communism) and *socializmi* (socialism). Occasionally, you also hear the word *Tita* (Tito) being used for the dialectics between communism as power and socialism as consumption. Yet, all those conceptions differ in relation to their experience of the socialist Yugoslav system they were part of. If they refer to *komunizmi* they usually mean to express the political power, discrimination, repression, planned expulsion (called migration), Rankoviç time and UDBAand OZNA[38] persecution, and so on. When they refer to *socializmi* they usually refer to their good living conditions offered by the 'self-management' economic system of Yugoslavia. Those who were employed by the state companies, worker's self-management companies and so forth, enjoyed the opportunities given by the system and remember them with nostalgia.

Socializmi, komunizmi and *Tita* are terms that locals use interchangeably and sometimes in a contradictory way. Serbs are usually associated with the ideology, hegemony and nationalism that permeated the socialist system, whereas Slovenes and to an extent Croats are remembered to have had the brains behind the socialist 'good living' standards. For Kosovar Albanians, socialism provided the means to enhance their standards of living and opened the

[38] UDBA was short for 'Uprava državne bezbednosti' (State Security Administration) whereas OZNA was short of Odeljenje zaštite naroda (Department for the People's Protection). Aleksandar Ranković run a police state in Kosova and was known as hardliner to Kosova Albanians (Judah, 2008: 52). Local elderly still remember and often recount how during 'Ranković's time' they were persecuted for nothing and many people were executed without a trial.

door to the modernisation process, locally referred to as having or making *kushte*. "Socialism fed everybody. One worked and ten ate". This is the common expression you hear among the elderly who experienced socialism and the opportunities it provided.

Luthar and Pušnik argue that "Yugo-nostalgia should be reconsidered as a form of selective remembering" and not simply as "people's intrinsic wish or yearning for a return to socialist Yugoslavia, because pining for a lost past has its roots in the specific socio-political-economic conditions of the region, such as struggle with the legacy of wars in the 1990s, or economic hardship and political corruption during the transformation to a multiparty political system and a capitalist consumer oriented economy" (Luthar & Pušnik, 2010: 18). Further on, Luthar and Pušnik argue that Yugo-nostalgia should also be reconsidered as a manifestation of the second stage of postsocialist normalisation, as the first stage was the criminalisation and distancing of the communist regime. Yet they are explicit in saying that Yugo-nostalgia is "a yearning for a vast territory" (Luthar & Pušnik, 2010:18). Although theoretically this sounds as a possibility, there is little evidence, for example, in Kosova, about such Yugo-nostalgia. Regardless of the fact that the socialist system provided Kosovar Albanians with the opportunity to engage in a modernising process offered by the liberal socialism of Yugoslavia, the system is perceived as ostracising them from their nation-state fulfilment (Kraja, 2012).

Nevertheless, Schwandner-Sievers (2010) has witnessed that there is some nostalgia about Tito's time, especially during the 70s and 80s (after his death) among urban Kosova Albanians. Nostalgia is argued to be an industry and culture that is constructed by some social groups to obtain certain objectives and as such offered to or imposed on others. As Velikonja states, "in popular opinion, nostalgia for socialism is something fabricated, invented, and then imposed by different groups of people to achieve some goals: to open a new commercial niche,

to attain political credit, to win popular support, to get artistic inspiration, and so on."(2009: 535). However, when expressed and not materialised, the nostalgia for socialism often takes an ironic stance. Some of the common responses to socialism in terms of nostalgia are 'emotional recuperation' of the elderly who claim that during 'that time' they enjoyed the living standards, normativity and discipline. The elderly people who worked in state factories, institutions and state-owned services were mainly people that migrated from the rural areas to urban places. For them, socialism provided the opportunity to escape from the jurisdiction of patriarchal family, village poverty and static life. Prishtina, as the capital of Kosova, became the magnet for many workers across Kosova and other republics in Yugoslavia where the Albanians lived. They were provided with state accommodation, cars, and wages, and those who were higher up in the state institutions were granted 'villas' in the countryside, near the lakes or in the touristic, leisure regions of Kosova, such as Brezovica. Some of those 'banesa' (apartments), especially first floor ones, have turned into cafés, restaurants and grocers.

The social safety nets provided by socialism ended in late 80s, before the break-up of Yugoslavia. In 1989 Serbia abolished Kosova's 1974 autonomy. Kosova Albanians were occupied and thrown out of their institutions. Yet, they articulated themselves politically and resisted the Milosević ideological, illegal and brutal regime.

Resisting and surviving the 90s

Today, the 90s period is largely known as the period 'before the war', the Kosova resistance decade to Serbian rule. The 90s was indeed a period of resistance and survival of Albanians of Kosova under Milosevic's ideology. During this time Kosova operated as a republic developing a democratic political culture. One of the major political parties, the Democratic League of Kosova

(LDK), led by Ibrahim Rugova, operated more or less like *Solidarity* in Poland (Malcolm, 1998). The party resisted peacefully to the repressing policies of Milosevic regime by following three main objectives: to prevent a violent revolt, to internationalise the issue of Kosova, which included the requirement to establish an international protectorate in Kosova, and to refuse the Serbian state systematically creating the premise for a 'republic' of Kosova. In fact, this premise which Malcolm calls 'as if' was an essential premise and aspiration for independence (1998: 348).

Albanians were kicked out of Kosova institutions, from Parliament to nurseries, installing a system of fear and terror against them. Teachers, police officers, doctors and media workers were expelled when they refused to accept the Serbian imposed system engineered by Serbia's government ideology. Kosova was running on diaspora remittances, local economy and community solidarity. Serbia's economy was run directly by the criminalised Belgrade government (Schmitt, 2012: 250-251). However, Kosova Albanians turned to traditional forms of coping with the crisis by creating a strong community solidarity. It is important to mention that during the early 1990s there were nearly 1,000 blood feuds reconciliated by organised Albanian elites. Most of the people declared that they forgave their blood in the name of freedom, youth and the Albanian nation (Neziri, 2001: Luci, 2014). This was considered to have had an astonishing effect on Albanian ethnic and national feeling of unity and strength. So there was a very strong solidarity mobilisation on the peacefully resisting Albanian side (Clark, 2000). During the 90s the public sector in Kosova was emptied of Albanians and run by Serbs. The urban citizens who had been employed in this sector suffered the most, while the rural population, survived on local production and trading. During the period from 1989 to 1995 the number of small family enterprises increased from 1,700 to 18,000 (Schmitt, 2012: 250).

Yet during this time a large part of the Albanian population migrated to Western Europe, the US and elsewhere. It is assumed that more than 400,000 Albanians emigrated to Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Sweden, Norway, the UK, etc. This massive emigration created the 'diaspora' of Kosova Albanians, which became the backbone of the survival of Kosova Albanians through the remittance system (Vickers, 1998: 272). By organising their lives within a 'the Republic' the Albanians created a utopia of ethnic harmony against Serbia's imposing regime. They organised their own 'parallel' system of education and health which was financed by the Fund of the 'Republic', a budget created by a 3% taxation on personal and business income within Kosova and Kosovar Albanian diaspora. These 'taxes' were entirely voluntary.

Post-war life

The war was a powerful shift in the social memory of Kosova today. As we noted, almost every aspect of life in Kosova is weighed, evaluated, and interpreted in respect to the conceptual calendar 'before the war' and 'after the war' [Alb: *para lufte/pas lufte*]. After the war, people began to rapidly rebuild their lives.

After the war, Kosovars were both mourning and celebrating. They mourned their dead who were killed, fallen or massacred by Serb paramilitary and military forces operating as forces of Serbia's ideology, respectively Milosevic's genocidal attempt on the Albanians of Kosova.[39] They celebrated their freedom from the oppressive Serbian rule and engaged immediately in the statebuilding and life-building. Although there are still debates on what it is to be a Kosovar, Kosovars themselves were gradually becoming Kosovars in the process of objectification. In attempts to negotiate with change, they are constructing their identities in relation to new

[39] For further views on the debate on genocide or attempted genocide in Kosova, please see Smith, K. (2010) *Genocide and the Europeans*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. See section on "Kosovo" (pp. 179-208)

political, economic, social and cultural contexts. In a television interview immediately after the 1999 war, the President of Kosova, Dr Ibrahim Rugova, addressed many questions posed by Kosovar citizens interested in the future of their country. He made several points in trying to assure Kosovars that local political elites and the international administration were working together to rebuild Kosova. According to him, the "rebuilding of institutions and the physical, economical and moral rebuilding of Kosova was a priority". In extrapolating his point he referred to 'pluralist unity', 'international aid', 'statebuilding processes', 'independence' and many other concerns expressed by Kosovar citizens. Reflecting on Kosova's natural resources, young population, Kosovar experience, and rebuilding of Kosova in general, Rugova mentioned that in the past "Kosova produced around 600 thousand tonnes of cereals annually" and continually commended the local citizen initiatives to rebuild life in Kosova. He referred to citizens as being "ahead of politicians".[40]

The statebuilding process facilitated by UNMIK was criticised in everyday life and in public and academic opinion (Beha, 2012, Ante, 2010). UNMIK had three goals: to build an interim administration after the withdrawal of Serbian authorities, to build a Kosovar administration and to prepare the state for final status. UNMIK had all the judicial, executive and legislative power in the country. Thus, under UNMIK, Kosova became a protectorate of the Great Powers, protected by KFOR troops and divided into five main regions controlled by the US, UK, France, Germany and Italy. There international presence consisted not only of UNMIK administration and KFOR military troops but also of non-governmental institutions and

[40] '*Intervista e parë paslufte e Presidentit të Republikës së Kosovës*, dr. Ibrahim Rugova, 1999' (The first postwar interview of the President of Republic of Kosova, dr Ibrahim Rugova), RadioTelevision of Kosova (RTK), the interviewer is Dijana Toska. The date of interview is not given, yet it is mentioned that it is 4 and half months after the NATO intervention in June 1999, which means that the interview took place sometimes in October 1999. [The interview in Albanian can be accessed in http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vQfueFLxMj4, last accessed on 12 April 2014).

international NGOs. Their administrative staff became a major part of the people who came to be called 'the internationals'. The biggest obstacle for UNMIK was that they didn't know the local culture and had no experience with Kosova as other previous administrations did.[41] Although there is no comprehensive evaluation of the work of UNMIK in Kosova since their entry in 1999 until the declaration of independence, there are some local and international analyses that address the UNMIK failure to resolve problems in Kosova during its mandate: the economic crisis, the lack of the energy (power), unemployment, ethnic tensions and the rule of law. Finally, we have the assertion that "UNMIK failed due to socio-cultural structures in Kosova, political directives and legal uncertainties from New York and its organizational weaknesses." [42] This is also witnessed in the local response to UNMIK. When asked about the role of UNMIK, people usually have a negative response, saying that "NATO saved us, but UNMIK failed us". However, the Albanians didn't want to do anything that the Americans didn't like. The Americans were seen as the ones who saved them. In everyday private conversation people said that "God and America saved us, then KLA (Kosova Liberation Army) helped". Nevertheless, Kosovars criticised the international community for "lack of partnership, belated transfer of competencies and responsibilities, lack of economic and social success, and lack of vision for Kosova's future...the IC criticizes local transitional leaders and institutions for not performing as expected" (Ante, 2010: 237).

Regardless of certain failures, the international presence in Kosova engaged in a social life and they increased the demands for new services and products. The internationals rented apartments in cities, villages and suburbs, sought entertainment venues and visited different leisure places. The international requests were turned into local initiatives. Many restaurants

[41] This is an argument made by Oliver Schmitt in his *Kosova* guide. The same argument is made by the Kosova writer Mehmet Kraja in his book. See Kraja, M. (2012) *Identiteti Kosovar*, Prishtinë: Penqendra.
[42] Schmitt, O.J. (2012) *Kosova: histori e shkurtër e një treve qendrore ballkanike*, Prishtinë: Koha, p.267

opened according to the relevant international administrative and military presence of the territory of Kosova. They served food to meet the taste requirements of the soldiers and administration staff present in their region. In Mitrovica, restaurants served French food, or at least tried to cook in the same style, to serve the KFOR French Troops positioned in the Northern Kosova (Kadriu, 2009).[43]

Kosovar identity

The growing debate about 'Kosovar identity' began immediately after the war. Intellectuals, writers, historians and politicians at different levels have participated and still participate in the debate over Kosova identity and what constitutes it.[44] One of the most heated debates about Albanian national identity was a debate between Ismail Kadare from Albania and Rexhep Qosja from Kosova. The debate consisted of Kadare's attempts to stress the Christian-European cultural identity of Albanians, whereas Qosja took the view that the Muslim identity was being neglected as inferior. He argued that Islam is constitutive of Albanian identity and pan-Albanian identity was comprised of two civilisations: Eastern and Western. Kadare in contrast argued that the Ottoman occupation constituted the original trauma. Although such debate is not new in the social science discourse, it became very popular among Albanians in the region, as it was expressed and articulated in the press during the time when the Balkans and Turkey were discussed as potential EU members.

[43] See also Judah, T. (2008), *Kosova: What Everyone Needs to Know*, Oxford University Press, New York. pg. 100. Also, in my interviews with some of the chefs of this region, I was told that they were initially "trained" by the internationals to prepare their favourite meals.

[44] One of the first debate was organized by Migjen Kelmendei, editor of the magazine "Java". Conference papers are published in English by Migjen Kelmendi and Arlinda Desk (eds.) (2005) *Who is Kosovar? Kosovar identity: a debate,* Java Multimedia, Pristina.

Fig.3. Albanian flags in Prishtina on 28 November 2012 - Albania's Independence Day and 100th Anniversary

The local debate on 'Kosovar identity' is continuously unfolding. Analysing the nation-building process in Kosova,[45] Vjollca Krasniqi maintains that the dominant state discourses revolve around the idea of 'modernisation' and 'Europeanisation' of Kosova and the idea of pulling the Albanian majority and other minorities into multi-ethnic strategy for crafting Kosova's state-building policies (2014). Yet, as Krasniqi points out, "this has not settled the competing narratives of nation-building neither it has undermined the importance of ethnic identity and identification" (2014: 163). As her survey shows, the 'Kosovar Albanian' response is still most popular form of identification among Albanians in Kosova. Thus, the territorial distinctiveness, imbued in history, everyday culture and aspiration for self-determination are crucial elements in the forms and modes of identification amongst Kosovar Albanians. Yet, as Krasniqi shows, only

[45] This is a study based on a survey conducted in September 2011 where more than 1500 respondents replied to questionnaires asking them about their loyalty to their nation-state. Although some of the reflections in this edition are useful and inspiring, they are not rooted in anthropological study of 'everyday life' as experienced by locals. For example: contrary to my observations, it is interesting to find out that most Kosovars (75%) regard Kosova Independence Day (17 February 2008) as the most important date in Kosova, whilst only 5% regard Albania Independence Day (28 November 1912) , known as Flag Day, (not mentioned by Krasniqi) as the most important one in Kosova (Krasniqi, 2014: 148-149)

one third of Kosovars identify with the Kosova flag, whilst "for the overwhelming majority of Kosovo Albanians and for all Kosovo Serbs, the flag that best expresses their identity is not the Kosovo flag: it is the Albanian flag for Albanians and Serbian flag for Serbs" (2014: 148).

Young Europeans

After the declaration of independence, the government of Kosova initiated a campaign to put the 'newborn' country in the world media. The campaign was called 'Kosovo – the Young Europeans' and the Kosova government paid 5.7 million Euros to Saatchi& Saatchi, the global advertising agency. The *Young Europeans* 1 minute promo was aired in various international television channels such as BBC, CNN, Euronews, etc. In line with South European states wishing to join the EU family, nation branding points to the fact that those states share a common problem: the socialist legacy. Thus, they are directed by the motive to position the country as eligible to join a new order, in this case the EU structure. It is argued that "the spot [advert] was designed to transform Kosovo's image of war and violence into an image of youth" (Ströhle: 2012: 228). The advert depicts young people, working together, putting separate puzzle pieces together to form the territory of Kosovo which is depicted from a camera in the sky. Local people were upset with the fact that five million euros of taxpayer's money was spent in a TV advert that doesn't work and depicts Kosovars as pretty faces 'playing in kindergarten' as it was expressed to me personally. The strategy deployed by the Government of Kosova was perceived as 'ideological' and 'wrong'.

The 'Young Europeans' branding is often contested by local people. The argument is perceived as being transformative and utopian. Often, locals comment on the idea of 'newborn' and 'young Europeans' as conceptions that disembody them from their traditional milieu. Often,

those brands are perceived as pragmatic shortcuts to Europeanisation as propagated by neoliberal thinking. In relation to food, Kosovars want to diversify their diet and gastronomy and embrace new developments. Yet, they also show that they want to revitalise their common and traditional diet and tastes. In discussion about 'young Europeans' and 'newborn' branding and practical activities associated with it, they often evoke the notion of 'old corn' as something which has constituted their traditional diet. "We may be young Europeans by name but we are old Europeans by roots" is a common response. Thus, such an ideological branding is often juxtaposed with arguments of reclaiming the past.

Researching in Prishtina

Prishtina, the capital of Kosova, is by degree of definition a small and young town. It is situated in the north-eastern part of Kosova, close to the Gollak region. There are less than 200, 000 inhabitants living in Prishtina according to the latest census[46]. Prishtina comprises of several districts running across the two main slopy hills and throughout the basin. [47] As the capital of Kosova, it is the largest urban area in the country. It is also one of the most visited towns in Kosova.[48] Recent investment has lifted the face of Prishtina. Public squares have been

[46] The 2011 Census results put the population of Prishtina to 198, 897 whereas the municipality officials claim that based on their bills Prishtina has around 400, 000 people living there. The Census also put the number of Kosova residents to 1.733.872, which defied many expectations held by local institutions and local people. Most local people expressed anger at the way in which data was collected 'without care' as they put it. As a citizen of Kosova, I registered too and witnessed that the staff conducting the census were not careful in finding out people in the apartment building where we lived. If people weren't inside their homes during the registration visits they weren't registered. The final results of the Census 2011 were published two years later and are available on the web. For Prishtina see 'Demographic Data by Municipalities, April 2013' published at http://esk.rks-gov.net/rekos2011/repository/docs/Demographic%20data%20by%20municipalities.pdf [last accessed 1 December 2013)

[47] There are many districts in Prishtina, although some of the names have changed many times as have the names of the streets. Sometimes it is easier to guide yourself through Prishtina if you know the local landmarks which can be anything from a café or restaurant to a government institution. The centre is composed of *Dardania, Lakrishte, Ulpiana, Pejton, Tophane, Bregu i Diellit, Arbëri, Lagja e Muhagjerve*, and many other districts that lay further away from the city centre.

[48] *Hotel Statistics in Q3 2013*(PDF), Kosovo Agency of Statistics, 2013, p.9

refurbished, buildings have been painted, more than 30 000 new trees have been planted and many parks have been redesigned. Prishtina is also a university centre, thus buzzing with student life.[49]

In the Middle Ages it was a little 'trade' village, facilitating trade relations for Ragusan tradesmen and workers, thanks to the rich mining area around it. Under the Ottoman Empire, it developed into *vilayet kasaba* [Turkish: meaning 'small town'], characterised by having a mosque and a market, growing steadily and becoming a *sheher* (Alb. '*sheher'* from Turkish '*şehir'* meaning 'town'). During the 17th century Prishtina numbered more than two thousand houses, all surrounded by high walls, behind which travellers witnessed fine gardens and vineyards. It was home to more than six mosques, 300 stores, and 11 local lodging places known as *hane*. The locals were residing behind their high walls and open doors to guests and those passing by, treating them in the most hospitable way.[50] In the 19th century Prishtina was bridged to the world of trade by a new railway connecting Mitrovica [in the north of Prishtina] with Salonika, current day Thessaloniki in Greece. Since then Prishtina competed with Prizren, a town to the west, in economic as well as political matters. Politically Prizren remained the centre of the Albanian independence movement, hence the League of Prizren emanating there. The rise of this little town took prominence after the Second World War, respectively in 1947, when Yugoslav government decided to make Prishtina the capital of Kosova. During the socialist period, Prishtina was the centre of Kosova, hosting political, economic and cultural institutions of the province. Also, many of the Kosova's factories were based in and around Prishtina.

[49] There is only one public university in Prishtina, the University of Prishtina and several other private colleges and higher education institutions. University of Prishtina is one of the largest in the region with over 50 000 students.
[50] This description of Prishtina in the 1660s is provided by the Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi. His travelogues are translated into English. See Dankoff, R. & Elsie, R. (2000) *Evliya Çelebi in Albania and adjacent regions: Kosovo, Montenegro, Ohrid / the relevant sections of the Seyahatname edited with translation, commentary and introduction by Robert Dankoff and Robert Elsie*, Boston: Brill.

Prishtina's industry increased from 3.7 % to 60.1 % in 'gross social production', as it was called during socialism.[51]

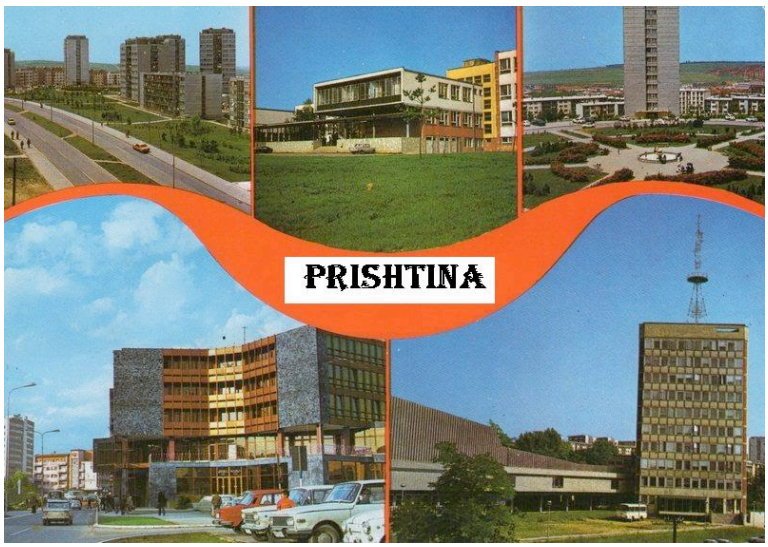

Fig.4. Socialist 'panorama' of Prishtina

In the 40s and 50s, Prishtina became a project of socialist modernisation which sadly led to the destruction of several important heritage sites, including a Catholic Cathedral and a mosque. The Old Çarshija, having one of the oldest bazzars in the region, was also sacrificed for the sake "of implanting the socialist spirit among the citizens of the capital of the then-province".[52] New buildings were erected to accommodate the institutions of the province, with one of them being the National Theatre. Since the late 60s and early 70s, Prishtina has become 'a cultural centre' for Albanians in Kosova, and ex-Yugoslavia. As a university town, it gathered Albanians from all over Kosova, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Serbia.

[51] An introductory view to the economic development of Prishtina is presented in Sinani, R. (1974) *Tridhjetë vjetë të zhvillimit ekonomik të Prishtinës*, Prishtinë: Kuvendi i Komunës së Prishtinës.
[52] Kreshnik Hoxha, 'Pristina - A City still under Occupation', 9 July 2012 in http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/blog/pristina-a-city-still-under-occupation [last accessed 11 October 2013]

After the war, Prishtina's demography changed. Many Serbs left the city in fear of being persecuted by local Albanians. Many stayed in their home in surrounding hamlets and villages and started to freely rebuild their lives. The city expanded to accommodate the needs of the arriving population, local and international. Prishtina became a destination for new inhabitants. Most of these new arrivals were locals living in rural areas who came to find new job opportunities in the city, working in various industries. Most moved in and stayed. Some took over any empty apartment they could find in the city, especially in the centre. Some built extensions on top of existing estate apartments and some moved into the cellars, known as *bodrume*.[53] Others usurped public places, others connected illegally to the energy systems. This put a strain on the city's existing population. Many lamented that Prishtina lost its identity, becoming a place where 'nothingness is identity'.[54]

In chapter two I review the literature on anthropology of food and eating out and also present my research methodology. Then, I move to present my research in chapter 3, 4 and 5 and conclude in chapter 6.

[53] The landlord of the apartment we rented during 2010-2013, told me that when he came back from refugee camps in Macedonia, where they had escaped during the war, some 'drenicak (coming from Drenica region) had usurped his flat. He had to struggle to get them out. There are many similar stories in Prishtina.

[54] This is expressed in a song called "Homazh për Prishtinën" by singer and architect, Eliza Hoxha. One of the refraining verses says "It is ruined and saddened, Prishtina how I remember her, punished and alienated, without someone to love her". Recently, she published her weekly newspaper columns into a book called "Qyteti dhe dashuria: Ditari Urban" (Love and city: urban diaries).

CHAPTER II:

Anthropology of Food and Eating Out: Literature Review and Methodology

"Why food in a country where only politics matter?"

(Informant in Kosova)

Food as a research subject is very inviting for anthropologists. Anthropology has started to pay more attention to food in recent decades. Anthropologists have come to "realize the insights a study of food and foodways can give" (MacClancy, 2007: 68). By following and observing the social life of food, anthropology attempts to renew the wows with its primary subject: the human relations. For, food is associated with all aspects of human relations, be that biological, political, cultural or economic. An anthropology of restaurants, I believe, must be informed by researching the general anthropology of food, conducted as an endeavour to observe and understand the universally specific and specifically universal nature of food, feeding and eating in general.

In this chapter I will analyse the relevant literature that has informed my ideas in the topic of this dissertation. Although the anthropology of food is vast, the anthropology of restaurants is still a neglected area. Yet, in recent years, restaurants have started to become a focus of anthropological interest (Beriss &Sutton, 2007; Ayora-Diaz, 2012), especially to anthropologists researching food, senses, cuisine, foodfields and foodscapes.

Literature review is conceptualised as "conversation with the literature" (Hoonaard & van de Hoonaard, 2008, cited in Miller & Deutch, 2009:52). I have aimed to engage in such conversation here hoping to be a good listener. I have followed a 'trends and themes' path to literature review; a groupings of works that have informed, inspired, motivated and conditioned the framework of my research of food culture in Kosova. I often present, criticise and

contextualise arguments in the relevant literature as I see them fit for the general interpretation and conceptual framework of this dissertation. I conclude by presenting my methodological considerations and theoretical approaches to my research topic.

Food (as) culture

In broad terms, both our histories and cultures as well as economic and social circumstances are reflected in the nature of our food production and consumption. Eating food is an everyday necessity and a habit. Yet, there is an immense variety in the manner in which we nourish ourselves.

Food is culturally transformed edible matter that breaks the dichotomy between the 'inside' and 'outside' and the 'body-self' and the 'world'. The body-self is a digester of the world and in the process of give-and-take. The body-self and the world coexist in the process of biological existence and culture making, argued as a co-constitutive process of objectification (Tilley, 2006a). Nevertheless, food is not just the "thing" that connects us with the world and to accumulate our physical energy for "living" and "doing" and self-and-culture-making": food is also a cultural artefact. In fact, food is a beautiful cultural artefact. From a handful of the same wheat grain and through a long process of cultivation and objectification we can have Italian pasta, French bread, Indian chapatti, etc., each being a different identity, memory and event (Anderson, 2005).

Food shapes culture and culture shapes food. Thus, food studies has become a very significant field in itself, bringing together scholars from anthropology, sociology, biology, ecology, law, food management, security, environmentalism, and many other disciplines. In the words of Richard Wilk, "food is emerging as a legitimate topic *in itself*, at the same time that

food has also entered public and political discourse in many parts of the world, connected with ideas about cultural preservation, sustainability, sovereignty, security, the dangers of monopoly, rights, and risks" (2013: xii). Perhaps there is no better way to understand a culture than by exploring its attitude to food. Food unites and differentiates members of family, community and society. The moral and cultural attitude to food, table manners, food giving and food receiving, customs of common eating and various things permitted, forbidden, foregrounded and enjoyed form a complex food 'foodways'[55]

There is a general agreement that the importance of food in understanding human culture lies in its infinite variability. When considered scientifically, variability is not essential for survival. All people could eat the same food (measure in essential ingredients) and survive, yet all peoples cultivate, cook and eat different types of food. The basic foodstuff, the ways of preparation, the ways of preservation, slow or fast cooking, taste liking or disliking, customs of serving, the utensils and attention to details are some of the common things that people do differently. Anthropology and its interest in food are wedded within the classical research in anthropology (Mallery, 1888; Robertson Smith, 1889; Boas, 1921; Richards, 1932, 1939; Malinowski, 1932; Salaman, 1949).[56]

However, the begging question has to do with the range of influential factors in the culinary art and techniques of various nations. Culinary historians have argued that culinary culture reflects the natural resources people have around them. Plants and animals grew prosperously in China for a long time. This reflected Chinese food in the combinations of legumes, staples, vegetables, meat and spices (Chang, 1977). Culinary histories show the

[55] The term foodways has emerged recently to account for everything about eating, including production, preparation, cooking and dining. In terms of definition, foodways conjures up "our attitudes, practices, and rituals around food" (Harris, et al. 2005: 9).
[56] For a panoramic view of the research in the anthropology of food see Mintz, S. & du Bois, C. (2002), 'The Anthropology of Food and Eating' in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31, 99-119

importance of food and food practices and eating in various cultures as cultural variabilities, styles, tastes and imaginations (Albala, 2013, 2011; Flandrin & Montanari, 1999; Chang, 1979; Cwiertka, 2006). For example, Ashkenazi notes that food culture in Japan is, at best, "an overwhelming sensory aesthetic experience" (2003: x).

Massimo Montanari (2006) asserts that food is culture. People, unlike other animal species, create food and taste. Montanari asserts that food is an artefact, a creation with which humans have engaged throughout their recent history. In a similar manner, Anderson argues that "foodways also provide us with an almost perfect case study in social theory. Unlike sex habits, they are easy to study. Unlike religion, they are grounded in obvious biological fact; no one can deny the reality of food or of starvation. Unlike politics, they are not often the subject of highly polarized and violent debate" (Anderson, 2005: 6).

Food and globalisation

Food and food culture is intrinsically linked to the process of globalisation. Recently, there has been an increasing attention given to food globalisation and food politicisation. Literature on food globalisation is usually provided by political economists who regard food globalisation in the context of analysing capitalist systems where power is held by large corporations, in globalising line of production and consumption (Friedman, 1994).[57] Globalisation is often described as the speedy process of interconnectedness of ideas, practices, events and materialities that open up cross-cultural production of local meanings (Appadurai, 1996). Another aspect of food and globalisation is perceived to involve ethics. With food being a highly peculiar

[57] An introductory review of globalization and food and globalization of food see Inglis, D. & Gimlin, D (2009), 'Food globalizations: Ironies and Ambivalences of Food, Cuisine and Globality' in Inglis, D. & Gimlin, D (eds) *Globalization of Food*, Oxford: Berg. For more on food and globalization see Watson, J & Caldwell, M. (2005) *The Cultural Politics of Food and Eating: A Reader*, Malden: Blackwell

commodity, it is argued that "the relationship between food and globalisation is an ebb and flow between these two ethical impulses, between opening up and caring for distant others on the one hand, and focusing on the nearest and dearest closest to home on the other" (Nützennadel & Trentmann, 2008: 13). Thus, moral economy, globalisation, localisation and food culture are bound in a complex relationship as ideologies and practices as well as academic analytical tools.

Contrary to views that argue for the *homogenising* effects of globalisations, various anthropologists and sociologists have theorised the sociocultural effects of globalisation in relation to localisation (Appadurai, 1996; Bauman, 1998; Arizpe, 1996; Eriksen, 2003; Hannerz, 1996; Tomlinson 1999; Waters 2001; Lewellen, 2002). Anthropologists have paid much attention to the idea that the local is not passive and static as it is perceived to be (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997; Clifford, 1997; Miller 1995). Nevertheless, ideas and discourses that refer to static past and uninterrupted continuity are objectified in the context of constructing new and transformed identities. Food is not an exception. Through staging 'authenticity', 'traditionality', 'specialty' and 'locality, local entrepreneurs are key actors in 'localising'. Ideas, practices and initiatives to 'traditionalise' and 'internationalise' can shed some light on the ways in which people (re)make new food dishes and food spaces. As I argue in chapter 3, tradition becomes 'culture' to be displayed and performed for visitors and locals themselves.

Food systems and foodways are constantly evolving, either as a direct result of environmental changes, or social, economic, political and technological changes. The old ways of producing, preparing, cooking, preserving, distributing, consuming and sharing are constantly changing. Anderson argues that:

> When foodways persist unchanged, the reason is often that they are identified with the old, the traditional, the time hallowed. This does not prevent change. Frequently, a

> traditional food is subject to drift over time. A traditional food that is not liked much will simply fade away. If it is liked, it will often be made more sophisticated: as time goes on, and people acquire new resources, they will add spices, new techniques, and other elaborations to it (2005: 164)

Food, cuisine and identity

In bringing together views on the significance of food as a social factor many anthropologists adopt the approach which is based on the argument that the human relation to food is a complex one. Its complexity is asserted due to the omnivorous nature of human beings or to use Fischler's words "the implications of 'omnivore's paradox' and the nature of process of incorporation and associated representations" (1988: 277). As we know, omnivores are dependent on a variety of food and they try to resolve their paradox by learning capacities and behavioural flexibilities. Humans have the ability to sift through food to find proteins, vitamins, carbohydrates, minerals etc. Analysing those practices in relation to identity Fischler argues that "human group's cuisine can be understood as body of practices, representations, norms and classifications…one of whose essential functions is precisely to solve the omnivore's paradox…'" (1988: 279). The very body of practices and representations increases the significance of food as a social agent and the acting of eating as a social activity too.

In contemporary western societies where food is abundant and humans are not as anxious omnivores as they were in middle ages, the German saying '*man ist, was man isst'* (you are what you eat) seems to go in hand with a saying 'you are where and who you eat with'. It has become therefore 'natural' for human beings to identify what they eat, how they eat, where they eat and whom they eat with. If food makes the eater then the eater should know how to eat, what to eat,

where to eat and should try to make himself by eating. On the other hand, it has been argued that the modern eater is a mere consumer since an increasing number of the population don't know the history or origins of the food they eat (Fischler, 1988). According to Fischler, consuming particular food is one primary way in which individuals "can exercise control over the body, the mind and therefore over identity…it is the first and probably the mains means on intervening in the body, the favoured instrument of control over the self" (1988: 280). This process links the individual with the collective cosmology. The individual wants to be part of a *cosmos* (according to the meaning of this ancient Greek word): both the 'order' and the 'cosmetic' (the passion for body form) tend to be in harmony with the whole *cosmology*: the place where one can aspire and be with others. Thus, the individual's choice of food and choice of whom to eat with and what to eat at what time, where to eat it and in what manner, has increased the social significance of food. Looking at the notion of food as co-constitutive in social action and activity one is immediately struck with questions such as: How is food a symbolic activity? How does food reflect on notions of self and personhood? How does food and eating frame the national sentiment or national identity? Is there a food nationalism? What role does food play in the reconstruction of collective identity? What are the differences between domestic and public commensality? Is traditional food 'invented'? Those are relevant questions that guide my research. Here I want to converse with literature I found relevant and inspiring.

To be able to put the above-mentioned questions into perspective I turn to some key debates on food, cuisine and identity within anthropology and social sciences in general. As Mennell, Murcott and Otterloo have put it, it is mainly the anthropologists that have "taken a greater theoretical interest in the food habits and their influence on theoretical approaches adopted by sociologists has been very strong" (1992: 6).

Analysing the rise of the anthropological study of food, Pat Caplan (1997:1-31) examines three themes: changing food practices and their implications, food as a marker of identity and difference and the relationship between food and health. According to Caplan, although anthropological studies until the 80s have shown "clearly that culture plays a significant role in determining what we classify as food" (1997:2) and many anthropologists have situated their work in the context of historical changes and political economy, "there is still a search for meaning, which can be reached through the use of metaphor, metonymy and symbol" (1997:3).

Since Levi-Strauss (1969) presented his arguments of 'the raw' and 'the cooked' or 'the nature' and 'the culture' anthropologists have been trying to overcome the binary opposition and the legacy of this distinction. According to Levi-Strauss, cooked food is a cultural transformation of the raw. Levi-Strauss used Roman Jacobson's analysis of the structures which govern linguistic systems as examples which could apply to food and cooking. However, Levi-Strauss also proposes that the nature/culture opposition can be configured in different ways in relation to different foodstuffs and food practices in different cultures. Mary Douglas criticises Levi-Strauss as "orbiting in rarefied space where he expects to find universal food meanings common to all mankind" (1975: 232).

Many other anthropologists don't seem to be at ease with the universality of his analysis and have pointed out that Levi-Strauss was being arbitrary and his analysis an "empty speculation" (Mennell & al, 1992: 9). Levi-Strauss's methods are undermined by their own cultural assumptions. Robert Con Davis and Ronald Schleifer referring to this sense explain that 'one never transcends culture' (1991:146). According to them Levi-Strauss's deployment of the nature/culture opposition is itself bound by certain cultural determinants. Thus, "a scientifically objective examination of culture and meaning can never take place from the outside; there is no

"outside" or standing free of structure … in short, no objective examination of structure' and if this is the case, 'then structuralism is seriously undermined as a method"(1992: 146).

Mary Douglas's essay 'Deciphering a Meal', published in 1972, has been particularly influential. Douglas, unlike Levi-Strauss whom she criticised, didn't expect to find universal messages encoded in the language of food. However, she also looked at deciphering the whole sequence of meals and the pattern that regulates that sequence. Looking at her own household, Douglas asserted that meal structure serves to create, maintain and transgress boundaries. She explains that in her house meals were shared with family, friend and honoured guest, whereas drinks were shared with strangers, acquaintances and workmen. She maintained that this is because drinks are not structured like meals. For "meals require a table, a seating order, restriction on movement and on alternative occupation" (1975: 236). For Douglas food categories encode and structure social events. Eating is a ritual activity. As Lupton puts it, for Douglas the "meal is thus a microcosm of wider social structures and boundary definitions" (1996: 9).

National cuisine

Food choices and patterns of eating, distinctive smells and specific sauces, came to be regarded as 'typical' or 'characteristic' of a people and country where those people lived and ate. No doubt, cuisine is a crucial factor in the maintenance of French national identity. Amy Trubek (2000) discusses the history of French *haute cuisine* highlighting key moments, crucial components, important chefs and the evolution of taste. Donna Gabaccia (1998) argues that ethnic food has been essential in making the American cuisine. American 'creolisation' of food is often promoted as a national identity model, a model of 'melting pot' where region more than

ethnicity played a role in the eating habits of peoples in the US, as they ate each other's usual foods since the colonial time. Although fears from different people have been noted and certain regional and ethnic foodways have developed as a result of 'conservation' of ethnic and religious customs, as Gabaccia notes, "American foodways are products of centuries of curiosity fuelling exploration and accommodation in culinary forms" (1998: 225).

There are many recent studies that have focused on the emergence of national cuisines in the context of global and local exchange, focusing on various ways in which cuisine is used in the identity and nation building process (Appadurai, 1988; Pilcher, 1998; Wilk, 2006; Caldwell, 2002; Karaosmanoglu, 2007, Ayora-Diaz, 2012; Chen 2011; Garth, 2013; Cusack, 2000). Wilk's study of Belize cuisine (2006) is one of the most representative studies. In his study of Belize's patterns of food consumption Wilk describes how global market-driven movement of people and resources foster distinct local identities. In terms of Caribbean globalisation he provides accounts of historical epochs which he labels as pirate, slave, high colonial and cultural. Wilk rejects facile notions of globalisation that suggest that tourism destroys local culture. He shows that the trend of global tourism generates local differentiation and aspirations for local authenticity. Thus, the local appropriates the global into its microcosm. He argues that Belizean migrants and tourists have fuelled 'culidiversity' (culinary diversity) in the country. Creolised home cooking becomes a way of Belizean self-identity and economic development associated with the cuisine. Wilk argues that home cooking is never a mechanical reproduction of the past, but a recombination of practices, traditions and innovations, handed down to the next generation.

Analysing the African context, Igor Cusack similarly shows how elites and diaspora have constructed the national cuisine. He points out that "a 'national cuisine' is often built by appropriating and assembling a variety of regional or ethnic recipes and often reflects long and

complex culinary histories as well as domestic ideologies" (2000).[58] He assessed the variety of national dishes 'flag' the nation, as examples of 'banal nationalism' (Billig, 1995; Palmer, 1998). Some of the African national cuisines reflect their previous colonial heritage. Cusack notes that in African cuisines, similarly to Mexican cuisine (Pilcher, 1996), women play a leading role in "collating and collecting recipes for national groups" (2000:220). Cookbooks in Africa are sharply focused on housewives as main contributors to the project of nation-building. In an ethno-nationalist context, women as 'guardians of tradition' are associated with the nation's 'fictive ethnicity' (Balibar, 1991). Cusack argues that in traditional societies, the notion that in public space, the men 'man' the stoves is challenged by many women in Cameroon and other places where "women emerge from the private sphere to sell at markets and serve 'street eats'" (2000: 222). Looking at the formation of African cuisines along with the nation-building in Africa, Cusack argues that "the development of a national cuisine will involve the summoning of a variety of dishes into the ambit of the discourse of the nation, and the very mention then of some national dish will quietly flag the nation" (2000: 209).

Ayora-Diaz analysed the Yucatecan cuisine (2012) and the ways in which foodways are performed in the culinary field (of kitchen and domesticity) and gastronomic field (of restaurants and public realm) arguing that creativity, diversity and innovation in the former provide the framework for codification and standardisation in the latter. Yucatecan cuisine as a heterogeneous cuisine opposes Mexican colonialism. Yet, it colonises subordinate groups. Ayora-Diaz identifies the ways in which culinary and gastronomic fields are used on the one hand to differentiate the Yucatecan cuisine from 'Mexican' cuisine and on the other hand as

[58] Cusack reflects from a cultural studies perspective, leaving out the ethnographic details that show 'how particular cuisines are actually practiced in the field' adding that 'perhaps these national cuisines are just conceits of a westernized elite supported by the international system of states, and of little importance when one comes to consider what is actually eaten' (2000: 209).

resources to construct a Yucatecan cuisine in the process of taste 'naturalisation'. As I will argue in this dissertation, many regional dishes in Kosova have climbed to the national level, taking the position of 'representative' dishes of new Kosovar cuisine.

In the context of food nationalism, Jeremy MacClancy (2007) finds out that Basque cuisine is used to show distinctiveness of Basque people. Although the new Basque cuisine is built on traditional homecooking, its construction is a result of modernity, industrialisation, revitalisation nationalism and culinary art. As MacClancy points out, 'Basque cuisine' is "an evolving category whose content, despite claims to timelessness, develops over time and whose ingredients may well no longer come from the Basque Country. Moreover, it is a contested category, capable of attracting criticism as well as eulogist support. It is at the same time an idea detached from the daily dietary reality of the majority of Basques. As such it is more of a hope than a description, an aim rather than a classification. Less "This is the way the Basques eat" than "This is the way we would like Basques to eat"" (2007: 87). Arguably, cuisines might be inflected by various factors to 'frame' their own intentions. In the Kosovar context, both décor and cuisine as produced and consumed in the restaurant, are permeated by a certain degree of "banal nationalism" (Billig, 1995). This can be witnessed in classification and ethnicisation: "This is how/what Albanians eat?" and "This is an Albanian dish".

In his analyses of global, regional and national dimensions in the Middle Eastern food culture, Zubaida (2001) asserts that there are two attitudes to food in the region: the communalist attitude and the nationalist attitude. He notes that:

> Communalist attitudes are ahistorical. They are not concerned with origins, but with insistence that their foods are the best. The nationalist attitude, in contrast, is eminently

> historical. Aware that similar genres of food are shared by other nations, it is concerned to claim that these are originally 'ours' (2001: 39).

In this respect Zubaida argues that Arabs and Greeks use a 'nationalist essentialism' approach to claim that the sophisticated Ottoman dishes are originally 'their' dishes. As I discussed in chapter 1, the past is often perceived as a relic that survived in the mountains in wait of 'excavation'. This is often present in the region, and in Kosova, as it is spread among most countries (Searles, 2002).

Yet, Garth argues that in the Caribbean there is no 'native' point of view, or for that matter point of food view, due to the process dubbed as 'creolisation'. For Garth, "notion of creolization, transculturation, and hybridity emerged as theoretical constructs used to understand identity in Caribbean societies" (2013: 4). In fact many of the ideas of hybridisation, transculturation and intersectionality have derived from scholarly work on Caribbean (Hall and du Gay, 1996; Bhabha 1994, Hannerz 1990). From a historical and anthropological point of view, Jeffrey Pilcher discusses the ways in which 'traditional' food is objectified in the national identity in Mexico. He discusses the social significance of food in the construction and performance of Mexican national identity. According to him, corn-based food, once considered to be low peasant food, became a symbol of national Mexican identity and heritage (1998).

Alan Warde argues that national identity was not the main concern in the construction of British cuisine. Little evidence can be found to suggest an "ethnic" food nationalism in the re-emergence of British cuisine. The new styles of cooking emerged as an eclectic style known as *Modern British Cooking*. According to Warde, the characteristics of this new style (mainly 80s onwards) were described in the famous restaurant guide in Britain known as *The Good Food*

Guide as including five themes: regionality, the market, the relishes and species, the garden and the tradition (2009b: 158-59). Warde argues that the 90s paved the way for a new tradition, which was simply an eclecticism or 'British melting pot', or a "flexible appropriation of ideas from other cuisines" (2009b: 161). This new wave of cooking styles that characterised the restaurant scene in the 90s broke away with the themes of *Modern British Cooking*.

In his comparative analysis of food production and consumption in Britain and France, Warde (2009) suggests that 'non-antagonistic' difference, regional diversity, the mosaic of *terroir* constructs the national unity. On the other hand, Pierre Bourdieu (1984) observed food in the same manner he observed other aspects of social life. Food is treated as a part of a general analysis of dominance and subordination in the framework of the French class system. Contrasting principles such as formality/informality, exotic/homely, traditional/experimental are emphasised as being important in the ways in which different classes perceive themselves. Bourdieu suggests that even eating habits express class difference too:

> The taste of the professionals or senior executives defines popular taste, by negation as the taste for the heavy, the fat and coarse, by tending towards the light, the refined, the delicate. The disappearance of economic constraints is accompanied by a strengthening of the social censorships which forbid coarseness and fatness, in favour of slimness and distinction. The taste for rare, aristocratic food points to a traditional cuisine, rich in expensive and rare products (fresh vegetables, meat) …[whereas] teachers, richer in cultural capital than in economic capital, and therefore inclined to ascetic consumption in all areas, pursue originality at the lowest economics cost and go in for exoticism (Italian,

> Chinese cooking, etc.) and culinary populism (peasant dishes). They are almost consciously opposed to the (new) rich with their rich food. (1984: 185)

Though income may appear to determine what people eat, Bourdieu dismisses the notion that class differences exist only for purely economic reasons. He demonstrates in his elaborate and very highly statistical analysis that it is the ideas of *cultural taste* (and also the financial position) that determine what good food is which in turn strongly influence the class division and lifestyle.

Therefore it seems that the culturally constructed idea of what *is valuable* and what it *means* is also a determining factor in the incorporation of food. Arguing that incorporation is the basis of collective identity, Fischler notes that "human being mark their membership of a culture or a group by asserting the specificity of what they eat –or more precisely –but it amounts to the same thing – by defining the otherness, the difference of others" (1988: 280).

Food, identity gender

Anthropologists have posed various questions regarding food and gender (Murcott, 1982, 1983, 1995; Jansen, 1997; Lupton 1996). How food symbolically connotes maleness and femaleness and establish the social value of men and women is one of the main questions that has driven much of the recent research in food and gender (Bentley 1998; Bove et al. 2003; Counihan, 1998a, 1998b; Counihan & Kaplan 1998; Gregory 1999; Jansen 1997; Christie, 2008). The ability of men and women to produce, provide, distribute and consume food is certainly one of the key measures of their power. Thus, food, gender and power are intrinsically related. Caplan argues that 'similar patterns' emerge from these feminist food studies (1997: 9). First, food is cooked and served by women who are responsible for feeding the family according to the

preferences of husbands, save as much as possible and provide healthy cooked food. The other pattern reveals that certain foods are associated with one sex rather than the other. 'Real men' eat meat, whereas vegetarians are much likely to be females than males. Nick Fides argues that meat is popular because it "is high in strength giving proteins and simply because when is cooked it tastes good and is satisfying" (1991:1) The third pattern is identified as dieting and eating disorder, which distinguishes women as much more likely to be on weight-reducing diets than men, and men much more likely to develop eating disorders than women. [59]

It is often pointed out that the "constructions of nationhood involve specific notions of both "manhood" and "womanhood"" (Yuval Davies, 1997:1). Research shows that women have become crucial agents in the building of national communities. As Arjun Appadurai argued, Indian middle-class women communicating with each other through cookbooks instituted the discourse on Indian national cuisine (1988). It is also acknowledged that in various countries women are perceived as guardians of tradition. Pilcher pointed out that, in the process of construction of contemporary Mexican cuisine, women played a crucial role. They assembled the colonial and Pre-Columbian recipes, whereas male chefs introduced or instigated the French influence in the Mexican cuisine (Pilcher, 1996). Less concerned with social stigma, women seemed to have embraced the traditional *moles* and *tamales*. He discusses how the complex culinary history in Mexico has contributed to the national identity and claims that the most culinary metaphor for Mexican nation was *mole poblano* (turkey in deep brown sauce). There is also evidence that African women are also seen as guardians of tradition. The notion of 'Modern African Woman' is witnessed as being a concern for African men, who expect their wives to

[59] I find Pat Caplan's introduction to research in food, identity and health a very useful starting point to highlight trends of research in anthropology of food. See Caplan, P. (1997) Caplan, P. (1997) 'Approaches to the Study of Food, Health and Identity' in P. Caplan (ed.) *Food, Health and Identity*. London: Routledge, pp. 1–31

cook properly like their mothers and grandmothers. This is argued to be the reason why men 'go out' to eat food produced in small street food stalls (Barrot in Cusack, 2000: 220).

However, Sobal (2005) argues that gendered identities are not singular and one-dimensional. According to her, considerations of multiple flexible masculinities bring ambiguity, indeterminacy and ambivalence into marital food choices. She concludes that "thinking about masculinities as a plural construct provides insights about men, meat, and marriage. Multiple models of masculinities suggest that gender-typing of foods is not absolute and hegemonic, offering many ways of engaging with meat. "Doing marriage" involves negotiating and managing the processes of "doing masculinities" and "doing meat" in varying and situation-specific ways" (2005: 150)

In his essay 'Food, identity, identification' (2004), Jeremey MacClancy argues that anthropologists are becoming obsessed with the concept of identity. By arguing that identity is a catch-all term, comes forth as an abstract noun that may connote an entity with clear boundaries, it may appear as agentless, autonomous and sufficient onto itself, as an abstract noun it tends to be used in the singular, and is often regarded as an unproblematic category rather than as one fragmented in nature and constantly challenged (2004: 63-64). He asserts that "on this account 'identities' do not simply exist, as though floating independently through the ether; rather individuals or groups initiate or perform actions in particular contexts for identificatory process" (63-64). He proposes that we use the term 'modes of identification' instead and suggests several modes to be used to guide our research, especially food.[60] He emphasises the literary mode of identification (such as restaurant reviews, cookbooks, newspaper articles, interviews with chefs, letters to editor, etc.), the ritual mode of identification (such as meals eaten in group, national,

[60] Interestingly, MacClancy claims that he developed this approach when researching in Basque area in Spain. Food was not his main concern, but he learnt about 'modes of identification' with food by observance and serendipity (2004: 71).

regional and local events that might also be associated with particular food), the historiographical mode of identification (invention of tradition, cuisine mobilised to provide a historical past), the culinary mode of identification (analysis of chefs, chefs as self-promoters, promotion of food and area, promotion of local culinary practices) and local mode of identification (including difference between 'us' and 'them', how categories of difference are expressed on food, group difference or variations, food from different regions). I found MacClancy's suggestions useful to my fieldwork in identifying, observing and analysing the identificatory process of waiters, chefs, and customers, within the sensorial, symbolic, material and social space of restaurant.[61]

Food, migration and tourism

There is a wide range of studies examining the relationship between migration, ethnic identity and foodways, shifts and continuities in food consumption among ethnic identities, transformations and acculturation, economic and social aspects, relatedness to host country, second generation 'mixture' food habits, food availability in host country, the emergence of restaurants and other 'ethnic' institutions and postcolonial encounters (Toumainen, 2009; Douglas 1984; Hage, 1997; Sevak *et al*. 2004; Sharma *et al*. 1996; Charon Cardona 2004; Harbottle 2000; Charon Cardona 2004; Diner 2001; Charon Cardona 2004; Tam 1997; Turgeon & Pastinelli, 2002). For many migrants, especially new migrants, to lose the traditional culinary practice is considered equal with the "abandonment of community, family, and religion" (Gabaccia 1998: 54). Most research reveals common similarities between different ethnic communities that bring food from their home countries, cook 'home' dishes in family and

[61] However, the notion of 'identification' as more preferable than 'identity' is briefly mentioned by Peter Scholliers in his introduction to edited volume on food, drink and identity in Europe. See Scholliers, P. (2001) 'Meals, Food Narratives and Sentiments of Belonging in Past and Present' in Scholliers, P. (ed) *Food, Drink and Identity in Europe since the Middle Ages*, Oxford: Berg. p.6

kinship gatherings, use 'ethnic' food in community festivities as well as cope with the host foodways, foodstuffs and social activities.

In the Kosovar context, diaspora are the crucial agents of gastronomic change in Kosova. Almost every fourth family member in Kosova lives outside Kosova, mainly in the European countries such as Germany, Switzerland, Austria, UK, etc. Through exchange of ideas, practices and materialities, Kosovars have engaged in transnational consumption space. Many chefs, restauranteurs and waiters have returned to Kosova, willingly or unwillingly, to open new restaurants, cafés, bars and other eating places, thus, directly influencing the rhythm of diet, cuisine and eating out culture. Kosova is not a major tourist destination, yet diaspora tourism makes up for it. Food consumption and tourism are related but they diverge in different ways, mainly for four reasons characterising food consumption by tourists: essentiality, unfamiliarity, temporality and symbolism (Mak et al, 2012: 176).

Diaspora tourism is another essential aspect of gastronomic development. Diaspora tourism revolves around the idea of 'ethnic reunion' (Stephenson, 2002) which involves travelling and spending holidays with their family members in search of reconnection and exploring 'origins' and 'roots' (Nguyen et al, 2004; Cohen & Avieli, 2004) . In a transnational perspective, the returning visitor "as opposed to the tourist who visits friends or relatives (or perhaps both) may be characterized as having extensive familial and social ties at the particular destination to which he or she is visiting. It is theorized, therefore, that temporary contact in the form of return visits functions as a means to renew, reiterate and solidify familial and social networks" (Duval, 2004: 51).

Food and memory

Food is not merely an object, a something which fuels our bodies, but it is also a characteristically modern way of encountering and experiencing the social world and the social action within it. Food as a material point of reference thus has a 'co-gathering' role in people's social activity. It glues the social activities in various ways and throughout various times. As such, food 'co-gathers' the family around the table, guests at the weddings feasts and parties, friends at the restaurant, etc. The compulsion for being-with-others and the communion regeneration has much to do with food sharing. Food thus has its agency and effects. In Strathernian terms food is a 'distributed thing' which carries some 'distributed personhood' in it. However, compared to other object of exchange, food is a perishable 'distributed thing'. When food is shared there is also a piece of 'self' being shared with others. It can therefore be argued that food eating and sharing is constitutive part of the 'cosmology' where social relations are created, reconstructed and performed. The ability of food to evoke memories lies in its smell and taste, the sensation of food as material object. For Proust (1981) it was the taste and smell of the celebrated *petites madeleines* that evoked his memories deeply and trigged his recollection of the past.

Food as a material thing has a profound effect upon our senses which in turn becomes an embodied experience of the world around us. As Tilley argues, "material forms may act as key metaphors of embodied identities, tools with which to think through and create connections around which people actively create identities" (2006b: 18). The very same thing applies to food and food eating practices, for "foods are distinct from other objects that people may use to derive comfort because they are incorporated or taken into the body; thus they have physical, as well as psychological and emotional effects" (Locher et al, 2005).

Others also have noted the significance of food as an emotional 'object'. In his overview of the sociology of food and eating, McIntosh observed that "food, eating, and experiences of the body all have emotional implications" (1996: 245). In her research, Lupton has argued that many human emotions are directly associated with food while "hunger is not often regarded as an emotion . . . there are different kinds of hunger, related to the concept of appetite. An appetite is an emotionally flavoured hunger. . . . Humans' relationships with food and eating are subject to the most powerful emotions experienced in any context" (1996: 33–34). Thus, food may be used for providing comfort by conjuring up images of a familiar and soothing way of life. Further, advertisers fully appreciate this reality and isolate particular themes or situations associated with food objects. These images offer us opportunities to experience a nostalgic past through consuming particular food objects.

David Sutton is one of the few anthropologists today that has spent a considerable time in studying the relationship between food, memory and historical consciousness. David Sutton's book *Remembrance of Repasts: Anthropology of Food and Memory* (2001) is one of the crucial works in anthropology of food and memory. Sutton provides an inspiring account of the usefulness of memory in the study of food and vice-versa. His ethnographic evidence and theoretical arguments show that food also provides the material tenets of the construction of memory, hospitality and reputation: acts of food exchange are reinforced by narratives of generosity in particular and memories of *gemeinshaft* in general. Accordingly, people lament the plate on which their spoons used to meet which in turn is also a lamentation of the loss of neighborly coming and going or the everyone-eats-with-everyone-else *gemeinshaft*. Sutton suggests that food isn't about what merely meets the spoon, but what memory "spoons" the food.

According to Sutton, food generosity is "a key site for elaborating notions of group

identity, in particular a 'modern' identity that poses itself in contrast to a lost past in which generosity made up the shared substance of everyday life" (2001: 16-17). Sutton makes it clear that food's memory power derives from synaesthesia – the very crossing of experiences from different sense registers. His ethnography reveals that synaesthesia helps us understand the significance of food in one's identity when leaving home. Sutton has provided some substantial ethnographic evidence as well as succinct theoretical arguments to show that food leads to interesting theoretical issues concerning memory and exchange. Food is a perishable material object and when it is given as a gift it does not remain there to frame your memory as a material gift. However, food should not be dismissed. Ritual feasting or mundane food exchanges can create lasting memories especially when cultivated through narratives of past acts of hospitality and exchange. Another argument that is solicited in Sutton's work is that he maintains that unlike solid objects, food *internalises* debt, which perpetually calls for verbal and non-verbal acts of remembrance and reciprocity.

Food and the body

The notion of human body is also highly relevant to food and eating in general. Bodies can only maintain being functional if they are being physically healthy. Bodies are understood as dynamic and molding. Cultural practices and 'technologies of the self' as Foucault (1997) would put it 'inscribe upon the body' by marking it and shaping it and making it readable. It is clearly understood that food habits and preferences are some of those technologies of the self as they are the practices which keep the body informed of the appropriate consumable things, in a cultural and nutritional sense. Those practices also maintain the cultural status of the body and also act as symbolical and pleasurable commodities for the body to then be able to maintain an identity

which can be said to be defined along the line of: *you are what you eat*.

Also, the body as a functional, biological and cultural object is always already under constant pressure to keep up with the 'ideal body' - the body which is constructed by the other social and cultural institutions. Some body ideals are portrayed as disciplined bodies which are under certain scrutiny and control. Bodies therefore become physical symbols of the owners' self-control. One's personality and self-control is supposed to be objectified in one's control over their eating habits and body building or body caring. A slim body signifies a high level of control whereas an overweight body signifies a lack of self-discipline and over indulgence. In the Jamaican context, the "ideal body is plump with vital fluids" (Slobo, 1997: 19). In the American context, the 'plumpness' is associated with 'soul food' and the core African heritage is embodied in women's meal preparation (Hughes, 1997: 272). In the African context, Cusack points to the discourse of 'eating out the body' (2003) as associated with slimness, which is not considered as a 'respectable body' (Oha in Cusack, 2003). For men, large and fat bodies achieve 'authentic physical masculinity', whereas for women large size suggests reproduction and healthy potential.

However, with the notion of opening the body to the world and taking in food comes the notion of danger. The notion of incorporation is central to this: we incorporate the food into our body therefore into our self. Fischler has identified the 'omnivores' paradox' as a tension between the human biological need for a variety of foods and innovation and the need to maintain caution because any food unknown is potentially dangerous (1980: 946). On, the other hand Pasi Falk argues that there is a distinction between 'open' body and 'closed' body. According to him, the 'open' body is characteristic of 'pre-modern' or 'primitive societies' as eating is the means of bringing people together (1994: 20). Incorporating food in primitive societies is by sharing and eating it with others, therefore you earn your place in the community

as a ‘group-self’ rather like the modern notion of individualised self. The ‘closed’ body is the body of the individualised, ‘modern’ body typical of western societies where there is a greater control on individual’s body exposure to the world. Falk is hinting on the loss of the ‘group-self’ in the meal-sharing community today. Most of us in Western societies when we go out for a meal make different individualised choices and still adhere to our own practices of what and how should the world be taken inside our bodies. Falk also argue that the modern societies have an ‘oral character’ which is a direct consequence of increasing individualisation. He summarises the tendencies of modern eating-culture as increasingly rising towards the ‘non-ritual’ eating tendencies. According to Falk (1994) the rise in consuming snacks, sweets, titbits etc., which he classifies under the category of pleasurables and oral ingestive activities, is due to the decline of the ritual meal eating activities. These concerns are expressed in Kosova too. Often people refer to current age as the age of ‘fat’ people. Informants often pointed out that in the past ‘people were thinner’. Given that most of the food in Kosova is imported, Kosovars argue that food comes from “God knows where!” usually referring to cheap food and industrialised, and bought in large supermarkets.

Discussing the notion of civilised body and the controlling of the self, Lupton asserts that “contemporary cultural meanings and expectations of food and eating practices have been shaped and reproduced via these [that is, the body that is tightly contained, consciously managed and subject to continual self-surveillance as well as surveillance on the part of others] understandings around the notions of the ‘civilised’ body” (1996: 22). In her thorough study of food, family and childhood, Lupton brings into the account the importance of the sharing of food within the family since infancy, and the acculturation process of eating food since childhood. She notes that ‘meal times are integral events at which children are acculturated into the rules and norms of

'civilised' behavior' (196: 38). In her analysis of socio-cultural and personal meaning of food she explores the relationships between people and emotions, subjectivity and embodiment. As she explains in her analysis of food and emotions '…the smell and taste or even thought of certain foods, if connected to happy or idealised childhood memories may elicit nostalgia to the extent that they shape preferences for food in adult life'(1996: 49). Caplan also suggests that "the changes in consumption and their effects, particularly on health, have been an important theme in much recent writing on food…one debate concerns the extent to which palatability coincides not only with edibility, but also with desirability from a nutritional viewpoint" (1997: 4).

Recent anthropological research looking at indigenous rituals, meals and the bodily practices in Bolivia show that "bodily practices and sensual experiences surrounding specific meals contribute to making certain kinds of bodies and identities and that people in different locations in the nation connect to food, body, and identity in different ways" (Paulson, 2006: 661). Food and the body are also directly connected in food preparation, serving and eating. The way in which food is cooked is directly linked to body movement, body memory and body language. Paules (1991) notes that some of the 'strategies of action' by waitresses consists of body-space movement and tactics.

Gustemology: food and senses

Food memories are not one-sense memories, they are constituted by multiple sensory registers. Kirschenblatt-Gimblett sum this up by saying that "from color, steam rising, gloss and texture, we infer taste smell and feel. Taste is something we anticipate and infer from how things look, feel to the hand, smell (outside the mouth), and sound. Our eyes let us 'taste' food at a distance by activating the sense memories of taste and smell" (1999: 3). Bousfield (1979) goes as far as to

claim that synaesthesia is not a faculty, but an acquired skill cultivated through practise and language device.

Sensorial experience acts as powerful means of mediating social relations in immediate and unspoken ways. It brings people together as much as it highlights their differences. Taste and smell, in particular, are emotional and psychological markers that influence the behaviour of people. The senses are an important factor for experiencing and making sense of social life (Howes, 2005; Stoller, 1997, Sutton, 2001, 2010; Seremetakis, 1994). Vision and sound are no longer prioritised as being more objective, rational and important ways of knowing. Taste and smell, as subjective and emotive senses, may say many things about social relations in general. Through our senses we entertain the sensorial faculty which only food can arouse. We are all aware that to make the sensory aspects of food central to the understanding of experiences leads us to a richer understanding of social life. As Sutton suggests "in pursuing our interest in the sensual aspects of food, we should keep our multisensory apparatuses trained on what anthropology has in one way or another always been concerned with: everyday life and the multiple contexts in which the culturally shaped sensory properties and sensory experiences of food are invested with meaning, emotion, memory, and value" (2010: 220).

Taste and smell are embodied processes. One taste or smell may bring enormous pleasure to one person and invoke revulsion in the other. Although this reflects the individual response, it indicates the divergent social background. Sensory knowledge is ingrained in people through their socialisation in a particular setting (Feld, 2005). This embedding of sensorial associations leads to life-long responses to tastes and smells throughout a person's life, in turn identifying him with the cultural surrounding in which he or she was raised. Although the sensorial embodied responses and its associations tend to last forever, they do not preclude the acquisition

of new tastes or supplanting of old ones. New materialities, ideas and practices, engender new sensory knowledge. Familiar tastes can be revisited, unfamiliar tastes can be invested with new social and emotional meaning. How important is memory of taste in people's lives?

David Sutton argued that sensory aspects of food are central to an understanding of lives and experiences. Building on his earlier work on food and memory (Sutton, 2001) and Feld's notion of *acoustemology*, he goes on to argue that food and the senses could become central ethnographic foci in their own right. In his review of the approaches to food and the senses, he coined the term 'gustemology', which stands "for such approaches that organize their understanding of a wide spectrum of cultural issues around taste and other sensory aspects of food" (2010:215). Sutton acknowledges Judith Farquhar's (2002) research in China as one of the exemplars of a gustemological approach to food. Farquhar analyses people's changing sense of themselves in relation to larger social forces through their everyday sensory experiences of flavour.

A gustemological approach to food can be a useful way to explore the 'flavourful formations' and local epistemologies of taste, as embodied experiences, practices and stories. Kosovars often reveal strong embedded stereotypes about social statuses in their conversation on food and senses. Someone can have the dairy smell of '*katunar*' (villager), someone can be called '*suxhuk*' (sausage) due to his fattened belly. It is common to hear people refer to food as "listening to that smell". Often, restaurants and cafés are differentiated primarily on their smell. As I discuss in chapter 4, many informants never dine in "gjellëtore" (stewplace) because they cannot stand the smell of *paprika, Vegeta,* or the general mix of different "common" spices they do not have at home. Often, smells are essentialised as concepts that construct the hierarchy of restaurants. Often, the sensorial experience of restaurants determines their social statuses. Thus,

senses are crucial in constructing the 'thereness' of the restaurants, which may be recognised as the way in which restaurants are consumed as a place in its synaesthetic (multisensory) entirety.

Sarah Pink (2008) uses phenomenology and what she calls 'slow ethnography' to provide a thick description of tastes and smells of "slow food" movement in a Welsh town. Sara Pink's (2009) 'sensuous ethnography' opens up the field of reflexivity, embededness, and corporeality within the ethnographic approach to senses. Pink offers cases of ethnographies in movement (walking, cycling with participants) and provides useful instructions for contemporary ethnographers on 'emplacement' of the researcher. She argues for motile and mobile 'correspondences' with our informants and the field. Her arguments are useful to engage in an ethnography of restaurant kitchens (Fine, 1996) and 'kitchenspace' as extended beyond home (Christie, 2008) in any future sensuous ethnographic study of food. Sensory knowledge is developed through the sociality of food practices. Taste, smells, embodied food-making and food-sharing techniques produce sensory knowledge.

Thus recent studies in gustemology acknowledge the sensory and synaesthetic aspects of food, mainly taste and smell, as 'constitutive of place'. In the words of Chau, "we sensorialize our worlds, especially through engaging in intense social activities" (2008: 490).

Food, place and locality

Food is one of the most recurring/popular media headlines of the last two decades, especially when food security and sustainability is concerned. Concern about the reliability of food supplies was caused by global food shortages that resulted in food riots in many countries during 2007-2008 and 2010-2011, the first times in living memory (Bush, 2010). An increasing interest in sustainability alongside the recent concerns in safety and reliability has prompted a movement to

consume food that is grown locally. The movements are known mainly as *slow food movements* and *locavorisms* (Petrini 2001, 2007; Parkins & Craig 2006; Pollan 2006; Kingsolver, 2007).

This *Slow Food Movement* which started in Italy emphasises buying food directly from local farmers, keeping the commodity chain to a minimum. The core philosophy of 'slowness' is grounded in understanding the pleasure, taste, conviviality, and value of local products and cultures. As such it has grown to include a range of activities, organisations, movements, localisations and diversifications. 'Locavorism' also started as a movement in San Francisco, grounded on the argument that it is harmful to the environment to transport food over long distances (food miles) and people should instead choose to consume only food grown or slaughtered locally. The idea of 'locavorism' has been described and defended by various activists and entrepreneurs as well as authors such as Michael Pollan in his book *The Omnivore's Dilemma* (2006).

The ideas and movements of slow food and locavorism resonate with the concept of *terroir*, place and locality. *Terroir* is a traditional French term referring "to an area or terrain, usually rather small, whose soil and microclimate impart distinctive qualities to food products" (Barham, 2003: 131). *Terroir* food and drink that are produced in connection with place, manufacturing process and taste are intrinsically linked to historical and cultural practices. Trubek notes that "the cultural embrace of France's agrarian legacy and the interest in preserving it means that the taste of place often intersects with notions of authenticity" (2008: 43). *Terroir* food is understood in opposition to the industrial fast food, which is seen as sterile and impersonal. *Terroir* is the term that describes the typical locality associated with a professionally crafted time-honoured practice of making food in a certain place or region. It is otherwise defined as "sharing soil and weather conditions …earth as a whole (and) its cumulative use over

the years (…) the culture and morals of the proprietor, and the soul of the country" (Guy, 2002: 34). Certain type of food is associated with certain place and it marks the identity of that place.

Terroir food or food from certain locality that is distinguishable as 'local food' is not only a French phenomenon. In her recent research, Amy Trubek (2008) discovers that a new 'common sense culture' about food and taste is being strengthened in the US, too. She starts her journey by digging up the roots of *terroir* in France, providing a historical context for the phenomenon. She discovers that there emerging American *terroir i*n California, Wisconsin and Vermont. According to Trubek, *terroir* is a world-wide phenomenon and can exist as long as it matters to people. Tendencies to grow and consume food in confined and close territories using distinctive production practices as is the case with *terroir* food and drink can be diverse. The strategy of fixing local products to particular 'local places' is known as 'quality turn'. [62] The concept of *terroir* is useful to ground the Kosovar sense of taste of local food. This corresponds to what Kosovar know as *katun* (village) food. This is qualitative food that is often compared to imported food found in local supermarkets. *Katun* food is consumed as good food, qualitative, nutritional, clean and often safe. For many *katun* food is also tasty and fulfilling, contrary to imported foods (see chapter 4). Food becomes the crucial product through which the position of the state is evaluated.

As mentioned, movements such as Slow Food, locavorism and so forth, seek to establish a habit of change in the cultures of consuming food with strong opinion on public morality and social organisation. The definition given some time ago for social movement views them as "collective enterprises seeking to establish new order of life …[which] derive their motive power on one hand from dissatisfaction with the current form of life, and on the other hand, for wishes

[62] For a comprehensive review of literature on the notions of quality of food see Murdoch, N. & Marsden. T. & Banks, J. (2000) 'Quality, Nature, and Embeddedness: Some Theoretical Considerations in the Context of the Food Sector' in *Economic Geography*, volume 76, nr. 2, 107-125

and hopes of new system of living" (Blumer, cited in Crossley, 2002: 3). However, social movements are recent objectifications of the tendency to 'morally educate' the public about what should be on their plates.

Research has gone beyond traditional 'ethnic foodways' to focus rather on food relations grounded and objectified in localities and conditioned by the complex relationship of senses, memory and place in the urban setting. Analysing the centrality of food among Dominican immigrants in New York, Marte (2011) points to the concept of 'seasoning' of food as a metaphor for 'the ways they [migrants] are 'seasoned' into new socio-cultural relations in receiving societies' (2011: 182). She suggests that 'food-routes' and 'seasoning' function as creative strategies to reimagine home and re-season their experience of community and local history. On the other hand, Sarah Pink has suggested that 'place-making' is also an event between the ethnographer and the research subject. According to her view, "the co-presence of researcher and research subject is itself inscribed on place-as-event as it is simultaneously experienced and constituted" (2008:179). She argues that this co-presence "invites for an exploration of how ethnographers and research participants might be co-implicated in place-making, and suggests the ethnographic research process can be theorized as a form of place-making" (179). The ethnographer's participation through eating with others can raise new awareness and ethnographers engaging with eating with others can elicit further reflection on their subjects as well as themselves.

Food, restaurants and eating out

Gary Alan Fine (1996) provides a useful introduction to the rise of restaurants as institutions. Here I summarise his historical presentation in a paragraph.

The ancient Greeks and the Chinese were concerned with 'cooking' long time ago. The Chinese started the first 'serious' restaurants during the Tang dynasty (618-907 A.D.) and developed the sense of "cuisine". Food entered the Roman public sphere through gross banquets During the Middle Ages the first cookbooks appeared and the kings of Europe started to employ chefs to cook for them. During this time the Chinese and Italian cuisine are reputed to have established the 'true' court cuisine. Later on this reputation belonged to French cuisine. The court cuisine was firmly established by the late middle Ages and Renaissance. There were also inns, teahouses and various other eateries that brought dining to the public sphere. However, the first 'restaurant' was established in Paris in 1765, only two decades before the French revolution. Thirty years after the Revolution 'three thousand restaurants' marked the landscape of Paris. At that time, restaurants in France became 'social institutions' that intermediated the public and private in French culture, playing an increasingly significant role in creating and validating social and cultural distinctions. The spread restaurants is argued to be the consequence of the agricultural revolution, the desire of mass feeding in urban areas, and the need of elites to have good quality of food without having to employ their own cooks.[63]

Restaurants have taken an important place in our history, as continuously opening, closing, diversifying, extending, transforming and revitalising our diets and our social lives. In our contemporary age, restaurants have developed rapidly, taking a role of 'third places' (Oldenburg, 2001) - settings beyond home and work. Restaurants and public eating places such as cafés, have

[63] See Fine, G.A (1996) *Kitchen's:The Culture of Restaurant Work*, Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 4-6

come to be our 'in-between' places that co-constitute our private and public lives, in a most sensuous way. We eat, we meet, we celebrate, we sing and dance and fully engage our senses and our bodies in the microcosm of the restaurant world. With the fast development of modern urban cities, restaurants and cafés and other public eating places have emerged as places that sustain our social lifeworlds and lifestyles.

The café and the salon in particular have been regarded as icons of public debate, places where things could be discussed and critiqued. Habermas, for instance, saw the café not only as a place where the soup was to be consumed but also as one of the main places of the development of modern social life in the end of the 19th century (1989). Analysing coffee houses in Britain, salons in France and table societies in Germany (*Tischgesellschaften*), Habermas argues that these establishments were the ground basis of a public sphere. It was in these places where most of the debate about politics, literature, art and other associated issues took place and was grounded. He mentions the fact that *The Guardian* newspaper and also *The Spectator* magazine were delivered firstly to those coffee houses and then were taken to the larger masses. This shows that there has been a special relationship between the coffee house and the newspaper/magazine publisher. It certainly strengthens the argument that the coffee houses and cafés and other public eating and drinking places have had an efficacious agency on the development of social action. [64]

Restaurants are also key sites for practices of social distinction - places where people insist on seeing and being seen. Although there are similarities in the practices of dining out among many cultures and societies, dining out in restaurants is an activity which surely differs from place to place. Roy C. Wood has argued that an increasing emphasis on ambience, design and performance masks the fact that the food in restaurants has become increasingly

[64] I will discuss Habermas (1989) in chapter five

standardised. For Wood, “any sense of novelty and innovation, or "real" difference, derives from non-food factors, the contexts in which foods are served, and the value to consumers of these contexts” (1994:12). He continues, “dining out is increasingly standardized and routinized … "Choice", in any meaningful sense of the word, is an illusion, and … the very act of dining out is emptied of meaning beyond the passive acceptance of the demands of fashion and convention” (ibid.: 13). One of the problems with Wood's approach is that it confers ultimate power upon those who control the restaurant industry and assumes that this determines how people consume the restaurant experience. Such views have been present in theoretical approaches to cultures of consumption since the Frankfurt school.

Finkelstein’s study of eating out is also one of the main substantial accounts on the subject. She devotes the whole book to the restaurants’ history and the behavioural manners whilst eating out in modern society. Her main argument is that eating out is “a constraint on our moral development” (1989: 5) and the materiality and social agency of the restaurant frames our emotions and behaviour in order to create a soothing atmosphere which in turn relieves us from “the social responsibility” and “weakens our participation in the social arena” (1989: 5). She notes:

> When the individual chooses to eat in a restaurant it is usually for pleasure and the question of what constitutes a sense of pleasure presents the possibility that the sensation may be styled by the circumstances (1989: 2)

Finkelstein attributes variation in experience almost entirely to the choice of type of venue, whose conventions then structure the behaviour. She claims that the type of restaurants, the

ambience, the décor and the very materiality of the restaurant determines customers' actions and responses to it assuming that almost everyone shares a common understanding, feeling and subjectivity of the nature of the place visited. She almost entirely rules out any participation and creative action on the behalf of the customers and visitors. Her approach is reductive and brackets the social action according to structural conventions and underlying govermentality which in turn proves to be adhering to structural materialistic determinisms. Martens & Warde (1997) argue that Finkelstein's observations prove to be difficult when put in a wider context and against more throughout empirical research. They note that

> Much of her argument works by contrasting the appearance of the pleasure derived from the world of commodities and display, and the real foundation of the engaged, social and moral self. Her key point is that the expressive aspects of consumer behaviour are generally to be deplored because they inhabit self-reflection and moral development. If this is a current predicament, it becomes difficult to understand why, when pleasures are fragile and imaginary, people generally continue to consume so relentlessly and with so much apparent commitment. Finkelstein's only resource is to an explanation in terms of subconscious manipulation (1997:145)

One of the strengths of Martens and Warde's work is that they provide detailed empirical evidence of the precise forms of pleasure experienced by diners. Their stress on the importance of eating out as an event suggests that "the meal symbolizes a socially-significant, temporally-specific occasion" (Warde & Martens, 2000: 217).

However, restaurants are not just mere signs and mere things that frame the social action

in a manner which Finkelstein proposes: they also *mean* and *do* different things to different people. The experience of eating in a restaurant cannot be as passive and homogenous as she implies.[65] Restaurants as material forms can be objectifications of many things and also objectify many other particular things. Shelton, in researching Greek restaurants points out such restaurants are like a theatre shaping customers' thoughts and actions. He maintains that "the restaurant is an organized experience using and transforming the raw objects of space, words and tastes into coded experience of social structures" (see in Yan, 2005: 83). Also in her study of McDonalds in Sweden, Brembeck notes that "the routines and the materiality of the restaurant offer ways of upholding family life but also of creating everyday, family life, and home in new ways that are in accordance with the demands and rhythms of today's world" (2005: 217).

Anthropologists and other social scientists have argued that restaurants play a crucial role in developing and instituting the culinary ethos behind the use of specific ingredients and their factual and potential combination into recipes, that gradually, through the process of repetition, routinisation of production and consumption, including the etiquette of waiting and eating, are refined into a set of norms that contribute to the construction of gastronomy (Spang, 2000; Trubek, 2000; Ayora-Diaz, 2012). Restaurants are places that engage entrepeneurs and chefs to think creatively in developing new dishes, menus and cuisine to compete in the public foodscapes. Some of the "most interesting aspects of social and cultural life in our contemporary world are featured in restaurants" (Beriss &Sutton, 2007: 1). Although the organisations of relations within restaurants are framed by the market, those relations reflect other aspects of social and cultural life including tradition, kinship, and gender, where restaurants turn into "hospitality commercial spaces" (Lugosi, 2008).

[65] I will discuss Finkelstein's approach in chapter 5, too.

Restaurants can be the most visible social and symbolic places constituting the identity of the foodscape in any particular city or region. Turgeon & Pastinelli argue that "in the same way that the bourgeois restaurant of the 19th century was a site for the consumption of the nation, through the presentation of regional cuisine, the ethnic restaurant has become in postcolonial societies a place for the consumption of the world"(2002: 247). They also argue that ethnic restaurants represent deterritorialised 'ethnosites' where foreign is made familiar. According to them, it is surprising to witness that there is a sharp decline in restaurants serving traditional dishes in Quebec where "strong nationalist sentiment has long been nourished by the revitalisation of traditional culture" (2002: 248). Lu & Fine show how ethnic restaurateurs in America fit ethnic authenticity into a market niche of expectations (1995). Josephine Smart (2003) shows that Chinese restaurants in Canada have also emerged as rural settlements, departing from the existing highly urban-centric settlements. Co-ethnic connections and resources are no longer the basis of success and business ownership. The geographic mobility from urban to rural localities is shown to be a "highly strategic decision motivated by mostly economic reason" (Smart, 2003: 312). This is a case with 'traditional restaurants' in Kosova. However, some of the restaurants attempted to 'peripherise' the 'centre' in finding quite urban areas to establish their presence.

In her analysis of restaurants in market socialist China, Hsu points out that 'western restaurants' were seen as "connected to the global capitalist economy and the world of cosmopolitan consumerism, in contrast to the local, provincial, and backward. Second, these workplaces were seen as distinct, and indeed oppositional, to state socialist workplaces and to the socialist understanding of work where individual contribution was rewarded by state paternalism" (2005:543). Chinese workers found restaurants as ways of moving from 'periphery"

to the 'centre' which were 'tasted' as 'development'. In China, McDonald's are part of the everyday young Chinese experience and "most of them don't know the company's American origins" (Watson, 2005: 72). Watson links restaurant going (at McDonald's) in China to rising income, single-child policy and economic boom. As a result of food consumption "encouraging children as young as three or four to march up to the counter, slap down their money, and choose their own food' new identities and subjectivities are constructed. Jung Jing refers to children of the one-child policy China as "Little emperors"" (in Watson 2005: 74). Also, McDonald's in China "nurtures its own network of russet-potato growers to provide French fries of the requisite length. But what is interesting to note is the story of Japanese little leaguers when they toured California. When they spotted the McDonald's they marvelled that America had Japanese food too" (Watson, 2005: 77). According to Watson, McDonald's "appeals to China's new elites because its food is safe, clean and reliable" (2005: 78). It is precisely for these reasons that there are many copies of McDonald's throughout China. This model also inspired Communist Party officials to reason that local chains serving noodles, barbecued meat, soups and rice pots takeover the mass market.

Discussing restaurants as institutions, Applebaum (2011) notes that 'consistency' is essential to the 'institutionalism' of the restaurant. He even goes as far as to say that he does "not know of any social thinker or political theorist who has ever thought of 'the people' as 'the people who eat out'…but it is possible today to think about *homo civis* as *homo gastronomicus* and even *homo restauranticus*" (2011: 26). As Applebaum suggests, the restaurant "is always a space with an identity that can be located along several different axes of meaning" (2011: 36).

Restaurants can be expensive and cheap, in and out, formal and casual, familiar and exotic, ours and foreign, unique and common/typical, themed and unthemed, then and now, and

so on. However, as my research suggests, restaurants are also referred to as 'there', places of taste and experience, pleasant or unpleasant. The 'thereness' of the restaurant is essentially the social and sensorial experience: the smell and taste of food, the presentation and the look of the food and the restaurant 'ambiance', the overall material culture within the restaurant, the 'hospitableness' (Lugosi, 2008) embodied in synaesthetic (multi-sensorial) experience which allows guests themselves also to creatively engage with each other through the restaurant. Yet this does not mean that restaurants are always necessarily appropriated and negotiated. In our current age of *homo restauranticus*, as Applebaum (2011) would suggest, we are constantly seeking to find 'somewhere' to have a drink, dinner or arrange a party. As such the restaurants is an agent that actively contributes to the conviviality and sociality of our contemporary life.

Regionalism and transnationalism

Recently, region studies have turned from viewing the region as 'archaic, backward and provincial' to viewing the region as the space of 'cosmopolitanism' imagining (Giordano, 2007). Ballinger suggests that "with the resurgence of ethnic and national violence in the post-Cold War Europe, particularly Southeastern Europe, political actors and scholars alike have turned to the region and regionalism as promising alternative to the nation, i.e., as going beyond nation" (2007: 67-68). However, according to Roth, this concept is useful as a "practical concept of understanding, as everybody seems to know what it denotes, although most people would be hard pressed if asked to define what it means" (2007: 18). Roth recognises four levels of spatial dimensions that are commonly referred to by the term "region": the *micro* region, the *meso* region, the *macro* region, and the *global level* region. Kosovo was classified in the *meso* region

whereas "in some cases, such as Montenegro, the *meso* region has become a nation on its own" (2007: 19).

In Southeastern Europe the term region is usually used to refer to 'rural regions'. The essentialist view of region as 'containers' of 'natural' whole was challenged in the 1990s by the view that perceived region as a social construct (Roth, 2007). Roth concludes that in Southeast Europe "the *region* has only been used as an unquestioned locale of field studies either of folk culture in general or of such aspects as material culture, customs epic traditions or narrating" (2007: 27-28). In Kosova, the region is understood as local region and the local terms for region are *trevë*, *zone, anë* but sometimes *regjion,* too. In local ethnology those are called 'ethnographic regions' or 'ethnographic zones', but also 'ethnographic provinces' (Krasniqi, 1977; Xhemaj, 2006; Halimi-Statovci, 1978). The ethnographic provinces were divided by the distinctiveness of each province in terms of "different social factors, specific characteristics of material and spiritual culture" (Krasniqi, 1977: 111). The main material culture characteristics were classified in terms of clothes, customs, but also the dialects or the type of local idioms.

Giordano links the globalisation process to the 'regionalization of identities' (2007: 47). According to him, ethnicity is "still an important opportunity, though certainly not the only one, to define boundaries by *inventing*, in this terms' positive connotations, distinctions and thus *building* new belongings and affiliations. As such *ethnic power* should not be regarded as a relic of the past. i.e. of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but should also be seen as a phenomenon linked to several territorial redefinitions, regionalizations, and reconfiguration of identities in times of globalized late modernity" (2007: 48).

Daphne Winland (2007) illustrates the value of a transnational perspective for reframing the scholarly understanding of national and other identities, including regional identity.[66] She analyses the transformation in Macedonian identity as a result of independent Macedonia, Greek bordering and Greek and Macedonian diaspora in Australia. Similar research in Croatia (Frykman, 2004) shows that in the dialogue between homeland and diaspora transnational identities come to the fore. She evidences hidden maps of 'transnationalism from below' (2004: 94) which refer not to political maps from above but to spaces of imagination and the material culture as objectification.

It is argued that regional identitifaction is highly emphasised in Balkan gastronomy. Vukov (2008) notes that cookbooks published in the postsocialist period include special sections dedicated to traditional cuisine. Vukov highlights some of the crucial factors that influence the re-traditionalisation process of gastronomy in Balkan postsocialist countries.

> "The increased mobility of people within and across national borders, the growing number of foreign visitors , the enhanced impetus of spending leisure time in exotic and unexplored places, the organization of alternative forms of tourism (village, cultural, hunting, hobby, culinary, wine, ethnographic, etc.) – all these factors encourage hotel and restaurant owners to view regional culinary traditions as a niche which can be used to attract more visitors…in this context, the imaginary or symbolic consumption needs regionalisation to swallow up both food exoticism and nostalgia for "native food". (Vukov, 2008: 540).

[66] A 'top-view' of transnationalism in Balkans is provided in Kostovicova, D & Bojicic-Djelilovic, V. (eds) (2004) *Transnationalism in the Balkans*, London: Routledge.

Balkan food, postsocialist foodways

Social science research on Eastern European post-socialism and transition often provides reductive views of societies observed. The presumption is that every aspect of social life is determined only by an intentional ethnic identity construction. This has become a projective view: if you study the Balkans you must look at 'ancient hatreds', 'ethnic conflict', 'Balkan Babel' and so on. In fact, Sabrina Ramet (2005) has listed and analysed more than 130 books that offer analysis of a Yugoslav implosion where such concepts are highly employed.

In recent years, academic debate on the Balkans is concentrated on statebuilding and political structures, an emerging capitalism, neoliberal ideologies, and so on. Sometimes some 'actual happenings' are thrown in to identify the 'local voice'. In the case of Bosnia, 'ethnic bias' appears as the main flaw, reducing realities mainly to ethnic dimensions, a view challenged by anthropologists (see Bougarel et al, 2007). Nevertheless, anthropologists working in postsocialist Balkan countries have offered a more nuanced and holistic understanding of a local political and everyday life context (Ghodsee, 2011; Hann, 2002, Burawoy and Verdery, 1996; Kürti, 2001; Kaneff, 2004). Most recently, anthropologists of the Balkans have undertaken ethnographic research from 'below' that goes 'beyond ethnicity', beyond 'ancient hatreds' and beyond 'protectorate', to look at the local realities and everyday life in a Balkan postsocialist context (Bringa, 1995, Duijzings, 2007, Maček, 2009, De Waal, 2005; Saltmarshe, 2001; Bardhoshi, 2011, Vullnetari & King, 2011; Vullnetari, 2012, Živković, 2011; Dalakoglou, 2008; Ghodsee, 2009, 2011; Verdery, 1995, 2003; Dazin, 2001, Luci, 2014). In the context of postwar Kosova, anthropologists have looked at the ways in which 'memory', 'nation' and 'identity' is objectified in war memorials and commemoration ceremonies (Schwandner-Sievers & Di Lellio, 2006),

they have observed politics of remembrance and gender (Luci & Krasniqi, 2006), and observed and analysed the materialisation of gendered identities in making the nation (Luci, 2014).

What appears to be remaining crucial to anthropological knowledge of postsocialism lies on the 'ground' level – the level of everyday life. Some of the questions that concern the anthropology of everyday life in postsocialist countries are: What changes and how do local people make sense of the process? How do people cope with change? How do changes occur and how do traditions endure, change or become revitalised? What does 'modernity' and 'Europeanisation' mean and do to local people? What coping strategies, practices and modes of identification are engendered in the process of change? How is socialist nostalgia materialised? What are the relations between the urbanites and 'new arrivals'? What do people imagine the past, the present and the future with?

Watson and Caldwell (2005) offer a very useful reader to the cultural politics of food and eating. In their introduction they claim that they depart from anthropology of food *per se* and concentrate 'specifically on food as a window on the political' (2005: 1), most notably motivated by food in a socialist and postsocialist context. They maintain that "perhaps the most promising trajectory in the anthropology of food is that offered by the study of state socialism and postsocialism" (2005: 4). According to them, studying food in postsocialist culture is "one of the best, and probably the most accessible, vehicles for understanding postsocialist culture" (2005:5). Questions of what changes and endures, respective and irrespective of economic pressures, what 'cooking' means, how eating in the past is remembered, forgotten, revitalised, romanticised and invented, and how 'Europeanisation' is practiced in food, are relevant questions that shed light into issues of cultural change. For Watson and Caldwell (2005), those

are important areas that may guide future research, as indeed they have guided my own research presented in this dissertation.

Socialist Eastern European countries are often presented as a monolithic, singular cultural phenomenon and only similarities are acknowledged. Caldwell warns that it is "risky and intellectually short-sighted to presume a universal postsocialist experience" (2009: 4). This is especially due to the specificity of socialism, diversity of cultures and the 'Europeanisation' process offered to various former socialist countries. There are striking differences and surprising similarities across the postsocialist landscape and, most noticeably, in foodscape.

In her study of food in the postsocialist world, Caldwell gives a useful insight that affirms the centrality of food. She notes:

> Given the centrality of food in socialist life, and in socialist ethnographic research, it would be understandable to speculate that the significance of food may have diminished in Postsocialist, capitalist period. If anything, however, food has become even more essential as a political medium and marker of the events unfolding in the postsocialist world following the fall of Berlin Wall in 1989 and the collapse of Soviet Union. The very negotiations between socialism and capitalism, communism and democracy, and the past and the present have been deeply and strikingly embedded in the food practices of postsocialist consumers (2009: 13).

This quotation highlights the importance that an anthropological understanding of everyday life can make to a general examination of postsocialist countries.

Balkan cuisine/Balkan restaurants

Analysing the role of food in the formation of Balkan cultural identity, Krašteva-Blagoeva (2009), undertook research in different ethnic traditional restaurants in Sofia, Bulgaria. Her attempt was to find cultural proximity overcoming national rivalries and a symbolic construction of region and regional identity. She finds out that the restaurants are expensive. They don't use 'pure' or 'authentic' interiors. They are combined with ordinary and contemporary elements. However, things like narghiles, paintings with traditional motifs, metal candlesticks, large baking troughs, coppers, and ablution jugs are present. Some of the materialities that constitute the restaurant décor are also used across the Balkans. In almost all restaurants in Kosova, especially the traditional ones, one can find variegated tablecloths, wooden tables, chairs, wooden panelling and other wood carvings as permanent things in the restaurants. Those are elements that were used traditionally in home kitchens as well as other public kitchens. They are reminders of the 'belonging' and 'home' and have a special 'meaning' (Worthington, 2003) as well as banal gastronationalism (see chapter 3).

It is interesting to note that in Bulgaria intellectuals do not like the *kafana* music in Serbian restaurants mainly because of the Serbian language. They consider the Serbian language a "peasant language" (Krašteva-Blagoeva, 2009: 29). Serbian restaurants and other Greek-Lebanese restaurants in Bulgaria are characterised by their appropriation of dance and live music, whereas in Turkish restaurants only Turkish music is played out. They are mainly focused on "providing perfect culinary experiences" (2009: 29). She calls the restaurants that provide music, feasts and special occasions a part of 'exo-cuisine'. It is also argued that by "definition [exo-cuisine] is more innovative and open to foreign influences, while the everyday home "endo-cuisine" is much more conservative" (Roth, 2006: 11).

According to Kiossev, cuisine is one of the main shared characteristics in the Balkans: "dining in a Greek restaurant means dining "at home", only there you will get the food that [you] are used to, if sometimes under a different name" (2002: 167). In her assertion as to whether there is such a thing as a Balkan cuisine, Cristina Bradatan, concluded that "if we talk about "haute cuisine", the cuisine to be enjoyed in restaurants, there is some truth in claiming the existence of a Balkan cuisine. *Sarmale, baklava, musaka, Feta cheese, halva,* may be under different names, but with similar tastes are some of the Balkan meals being usually served in a Greek, Romanian or Bulgarian restaurant, in New York or in any other big city, and they are recognized as parts of the "Balkan cuisine""(2003).

Classical ethnographies and travel writing in 19th century was a different manner of studying the Balkans and even in those accounts food is rarely mentioned, and most notably in accounts of hospitality of the (sometimes noble) local savage. Early ethnographers and diplomats who observed the everyday life of Albanian people were keen on finding 'characteristics' that distinguish this people that were regarded as relics of ancient Illyrian tribes. The Albanian language had become the subject of famous linguists in 19th century, paving the way for Albanology, the study of Albanian language, culture and history.[67] Ethnographers followed this pathway, trying to find the relics remaining mainly on the mountains of Albania. Some of the early ethnographers include Edith Durham, Franc Nopsca, Margaret Hasluck and several other writers, who touched briefly on food and foodways, mostly in relation to what had become famous Albanian *Kanun* and *mikpritja* (hospitality).[68] Nevertheless, most of those accounts

[67] A general introduction to Albanian studies is provided in Young, A. & Young, N. & Hodgson, J. & Bland, W. (eds) (1997) *Albania* (World Bibliographical Series), Oxford: Clio Press. Robert Elsie has produced a very useful historical dictionary highlighting key works in Albanian culture. See Elsie, R. (2010) *Historical Dictionary of Albania*, London: Scarecrow Press.

[68] Edith Durham is known for her account of Albania in early 20th century. For a representative study of Albanian customs see Durham, E. (1908) *High Albania* Durham E. (1909) *High Albania*, London: Edward Arnold and

reflect on customs, ritual and characteristics of Albanian *malësor* (highlander) in Albanian lands, where a stateless Albanian people (living in the Ottoman Empire) were scattered throughout. In an account on Albanian cuisine, Nopsca notes:

> The trouble a foreign man can have, until he gets acquainted, in Albanian home, is not from insects, as it might be generally believed, but the Albanian cuisine. Some specialties, such as fried eggs with milk are edible and not that bad, but others such as softened gjizë (but never a melted cheese) for someone having a refined taste is just bearable. Albanians offer their specialties in abundance, but they are not that tasty….If we don't take into an account how a malësor offers his beast available food in front of you, one would be right to dismiss the art of Albanian cooking without having a wounded conscience, but the friendship and love that those specialties without taste are shared with you must silence any complaint (2009: 54)

The early 20th century Albanian writers have followed the same mode of writing, all in the spirit of finding the cultural relics of the Albanian people (in fact clans) scattered around the Albanian lands, identified them as being in current day Albania, Kosova, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Greece and Southern Italy (where the medieval Albanians called *arbëresh* migrated). Much ink has been spilled on Albanian hospitality as a quintessentially Albanian essence, not much on the contents of the cuisine itself.

Durham, E. (1928) *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*, London: George Allen & Unwin. Franc Baron Nopsca, a Hungarian-born Austrian palaeontologist, was one of the most prolific writer on Albanian culture in early 20th century. He published more than 50 works concerning Albania, some of which are translated into Albanian recently. Margaret Hasluck wrote on customary law known as Kanun in Hasluck, M. (1954) *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Under socialism, foreign ethnographers weren't allowed to conduct research, so most of the accounts of food and foodways in Kosova are provided in the work of local ethnologists, who in a similar manner treated food and foodways as part of the national custom of *mikpritja* (hospitality). Even the early accounts of food cultures in the Balkans, presented in studies known under the rubric "Turkey in Europe", are mentioned and analysed in these works. As indeed are the Albanological accounts of 19th and 20th centuries, some of which have been translated recently into Albanian, providing an embarrassment to local socialist ethnologies that cited only the "good" bits of their observations on Albanian people, customs and ways of life.[69]

It may not be an overstatement to assess that until recent years most research on the Balkans and Eastern Europe in general gravitated around grand themes already established in the postsocialist studies: the struggles of postsocialist states to deal with the past, the present and potentialities of the future, in their complex variations explained by various approaches, mostly aligned to theories which see the 'economic transformation as a project of social imitation' or as radical as 'involution', which in Burawoy's terms is "an economic regression that is not merely preparatory for a future resurgence but is chronic and persistent…an antithesis of evolution and leads to systematic under development"(discussed in Stark & Bruszt, 1998: 5-9).

As I stated earlier, many anthropologists have conducted research that is grounded in a 'bottom-up' approach to social change, focusing primarily on individual and group experience as objectified in the everyday life in connection to various materialities, ideas and practices. In Chris Hann's review of postsocialist literature, many themes come forth in the anthropological

[69] For example, Veli Veliu describes how early French travelers observed food and food manners among Albanians. He refers mainly to F.C. Pouqueville's travels, as '*Voyage en Maréé a Constantinople en Albanié, et on plusieurs autre parties*' Paris, Cheza Babon, 1805. According to Pouqueville observations, 'poverty and harsh economic conditions have played a role in the cuisine of this nation. There were only few types of food through centuries. In Albanian "sofras" there was mostly milk, cheese, olives, other veg food, very rarely meat, fish and egss" (1805, vol 3: 149). This is cited in Veiu, V. (1990) 'Kushtet ekonomike, ushqimi, shtëpitë dhe gjendja shëndetësore e shqiptaëve sipas udhëpërshkrusve frëngë të shekullit XIX' in Përparimi, 44, 2: 143-155

study of postsocialism, such as legitimacy, cultural racism, economic transformations, minority rights, gendered identities, citizenship, and so on.[70]

Food studies in Kosova

Local ethnologists have only touched briefly on food culture. Most representative food related writing is Kadriu's (2009) description of 'ethnic restaurants' as glocalisation sites, Statovci-Halimi's (2006) description of typology of food and foodways in Kosova, Krasniqi's (2005) monograph on hospitality and Ajeti's (1990) short essay on food names and some brief reflections on food history.[71]

Kadriu focuses on glocalisation as a cultural process through description of ethnic restaurants. She concludes that ethnic restaurants are 'expressions of glocal identity' and 'transnational places'.[72] She studied only what she called 'ethnic and traditional' restaurants in Kosova, providing evidence for what she calls the 'glocalization' process in Kosova. She concludes: "This identification could be called glocal, since it is aimed to highlight at the same time the presence of high culture (internationalized food served in most modernized way, high

[70] For an introduction to research in postsocialist context see Hann, C (2002) 'Introduction' in Hann, C. (ed) *Postsocialism: Ideals, ideologies, practices in Eurasia*, London: Routledge. pp.1-28. Hann provides a review of studies of Eastern Europe states during socialist period see also Hann, C. (1993) 'Introduction' social anthropology and socialism' in Han, C. (ed) *Socialism: Ideal, Ideologies and Local Practice*, London: Routledge, pp.1.20. Relevant literature is also discussed in chapter 2.

[71] Brief reflections on "ancient traces" of *kultura e ushqimit* (culture of food), particularly on food habits, practices and rituals can be found on Xhemaj, U. (2006) *Etnokultura shqiptare në Podgur*, Prishtinë IAP, (p. 176-189); Mitrushi, Ll. (1981) 'Ushqimi popullor në Nikaj-Mertur' në *Etnografia Shqiptare*, nr. 11, 221-239; Gjergji, A. (2001) *Ligjërata për Etnologjinë Shqiptare*, Extra, Tiranë (pp. 91-110); Statovci, D. (1988) *Kërkime Etnografike*, Prishtinë: Rilindja (p. 187-198).; Sejdiu, S. (1984) *Fjalorth etnobotanik i shqipes*, Prishtinë; Rilindja; Ajeti, I (1990) 'Disa emërtime poplullore shqiptare të gjellëve e të ushqimit të pare në vështrim gjuhësor" në "Studim etnografik i ndryshimeve bashkëkohore në kulturën popullore shqipare; material nga sesioni shkencor i mbajtur në Prishtinë më 7 dhe 8 dhjetor 1989", Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës, Prishtinë.

[72] This research was conducted for an MA thesis at Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Prishtina, 2009. Then, it has been extended and published as a book by the Institute of Albanology in Prishtina. Some of the arguments provided in the book are useful starting point to analyze the social significance of restaurants, food and eating in Kosova. Yet, Kadriu (2009) uses 'glocalization' thesis (Robertson, 1984) as theoretical lens to spot the 'glocalized' activities, an approach which may be reductive. It may saturate restaurant agency to the concept of 'glocalisation' only.

art décor – sculptures, paintings, pictures, classical musical instruments, etc.), but also of traditional culture, ethnic, founded on a peasant /rural life, which serves as a ground and testimony of local, regional and ethnic/national identity (traditional ethnic food, décor from mundane material life either rural or urban, old architectonic buildings, or architectonic elements, etc.)" (2009:160-170). Although, this is a contribution to ethnography of restaurants in Kosova (in Albanian language) the research is limited to observation from a restaurant chair not based on 'participant observation' that ends up in 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973). This is precisely the point I want to make in my research: anthropologists need to roll their sleeves up and get into the field. This is the only route anthropologists should follow.

Statovci-Halimi's essay describes the Albanian folk food culture by providing a description of common peasant food dishes, food production and division of labour, food as taboo, culinary utensils, meal times, hospitality and the culture of food preparation and preservation in Kosova. According to her, "in the traditional structure of life in the Middles Ages as well as until 19th century, for the majority of Albanians bread was the main ingredient in the daily meal...The types of bread [in traditional way] differ in their analogy to the type of grain: *bukë e grytë* (wheat bread), *bukë e kollomojt* (cornbread - maize) *bukë e elbët* (barley bread), etc." (2006: 52).[73] She argues that due to the fact that bread has been the main ingredient for the Albanian population since the Middles Ages until the early 20th century, bread had substituted the notion of food in general. So there is "*a ke hangër bukë*?" [Have you eaten bread?] for "Have you had anything to eat?" or "Have you had breakfast/lunch/dinner?". She notes that the phenomenon is also illustrated with the opinion, which is also a moral philosophy, in the Albanian tradition that 'the guest or the passer by, which ends up in your house, cannot be without bread, which means, without breakfast, lunch or dinner', (2006: 55) because according

[73] Translations are mine.

to folk customs a guest without bread is a dishonourable situation. She points to the unwritten code of behaviour or *Kanun* as folk way of life and philosophy. Her description of common folk food and foodways is useful evidence of particularities of the traditional foods and foodways in Kosova. Yet, this is a general overview of foodways in Kosova.

Krasniqi's work on hospitality is a structural approach to Albanian cultural values and value systems. In his monograph he provides an account of hospitality as a transcendent Albanian value, distinct and 'autochthonous', respected by foreigners, and even from the neighbouring Slavs. Food sharing and foodways are perceived as a core structure of hospitality, which in itself constitutes the essence of Albanian character. The 'Albanianess' is directly linked to ideas of *besa* (the given word, oath, wow, promise, security), *ndera* (honour) and *mikpritja* (hospitality). Krasniqi notes that 'the tradition of hospitality is closely linked to the Albanian character. In his psychology, the main elements are honour and face, which in turn are linked to the other hounour components of men, such as *besa*, hospitality, bravery, truth, justice, tolerance, love for the fatherland and so on. Those are the principles of Albanian life and the main national characteristics of the Albanian people' (2005:25). In his functional-structuralist approach, Krasniqi canvasses an essentialist view of hospitality and Albanian culture.

Another 'food' related interpretation of Albanian 'essence' is provided in the account of Kazuhiko Yamamoto (2008), a Japanese biologist, who wrote on the ethical structure of Kanun, the Albanian customary law. According to Yamamoto, 'food and food sharing for the guest' constitutes the core essence that holds together the ethical structure of Kanun. The guest takes a God-like status, a cult that was prevailing in ancient times. He argues that the ethical structure of Kanun as a customary law challenges the views provided by Hobbes, that life is 'anarchy' without state-power.

Conducting anthropology in Kosova

Anthropology is a relatively new term in Kosova, often mixed up (literally!) with technology or ecology. This is not only a misconception among lay men, it is also a misconception among academics too. Thus, there is much ploughing to do in the field of anthropology for people to be able to recognise it as a discipline.[74]

There are many obstacles, conceptual and empirical, in the construction of anthropological knowledge in Kosova. Let me highlight the main ones. First, anthropology is still struggling to map the contemporary contours aligned with social anthropology today. For, anthropology is perceived as ethnology, the science of tradition that during communism adhered only to Marxism, obliged to aid national historiography in finding and analysing the roots of folk culture that constituted the ethnic and, therefore, national identity. Second, anthropology is understood as reconstruction of the past and not as a presentist inquiry. Accordingly, anthropology 'must' be used as a historiographical ethnography that studies (read essentialises!) the past (read an ideologically selected past!). Third, anthropology that is urban, presentist and disinterested from some mission to 'doctoring the nation' (Anderson, 2000) is seen as banal and dismissed as not 'needed', a word that conjures up ideological ramifications. Besides, for most of the time anthropology as practiced in Western universities is understood as being a political interest or an exotic interest for 'others' in faraway lands.

On an empirical level, anthropology conducted by young local anthropologists is facing the challenge of 'anthropology at home'. Where is the field? How do I get the distance needed for objective observation and interpretation? What methods are most useful to engage in a 'participant observation' with my family, friends and fellow citizens where the field of academic

[74] I would like to thank my students at the BA Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at University of Prishtina for engaging in debate and inspiring me to continue my work in anthropological research and challenge the current view of anthropology in Kosova.

inquiry is perceived to be only in the library, through questionnaires and in rare cases through interviews? How to be a diplomat in the field? Anthropology is also challenged by the 'theoretical framework' *en general* constituted by categories that go unquestioned such as postsocialism, post-conflict, post-communism, Balkanism, transitology, and so on.[75]

The fieldwork dilemmas in postsocialist countries are discussed in detail by 'foreign' and 'home' anthropologists (Barsegian, 2000; Adams, 1999; Anderson, 2000; Kürti & Skalnik, 2009). "Why food in the country where only politics matters?" was the main question that many local people in Kosova, including my friends and family, asked me when I told them about my research topic. A colleague who heard me mentioning that people are surprised about my research topic, told me sympathetic story of an Albanian student from Shkodra (a town in Albania) who went to study abroad.[76] He studied for five years and then went back home. His village fellows asked him about his studies. He replied saying he had studied to play the flute. Being poor themselves and in need of doctors, teachers and engineers, they shook their heads. One of them said to him: "You've gone abroad for five years to study to play *fyell*?!" (*Fyell* is a local shepherd's flute!). His village cousins were totally disillusioned and surprised.

I experienced similar reaction from my informants. "What is the purpose of this? Are you going to be a chef, a nutritionist?" asked my informants. The perception of tradition and culture residing in some distant past and distant 'unexplored regions' is mortgaged in the local perception through public discourse, intellectual legacy of socialist historiography, nationalism and 'peasanticisation of culture, common to European culture. Challenging those views and emplacing myself within the fieldwork and trying to conduct a presentist ethnography in my

[75] I presented this argument at the conference in a conference held at The Institute of Cultural Anthropology and Art Studies in Tirana on 4-5 October 2013. My paper's title was "Anthropology at home: a portrait of a young anthropologist", waiting to be published. Here I argued that Albanian academic institutions need to conduct a "normal" anthropology. I criticized the "ethnicized ethnology" and "transitionalized anthropology".
[76] I thank Armanda Kodra-Hysa for sharing this anecdote with me.

'home' has been the most enduring experience in the course of my research for this dissertation. So has the planning and writing on the subject, whilst attempting to balance the local voice with my own interpretative observations. I was also asked many times: "Prof,[77] have you found anything that is ours *with origins*? Something that is *autoktone* [meaning autochthonous]?" They insisted that "there must be something waiting to be found!" When they realised that their beloved dishes are the legacy of the Ottoman Empire and the Socialist system they concluded that 'it must be something in Western region of Rugova or North of Albania'. They believed that *katun* (village) and mountains represented their original culture. This was almost a weekly exercise which turned into a joke: "*Prof*, [common word to address a higher education teacher] are you there yet? You should visit the *male* [mountains], maybe *Bjeshkët e Nemuna* [the Cursed Mountains]" and then they turned jokingly "O let it go, prof, because God cursed us together with those mountains...we have only a half-dozen words for food...doesn't that tell you everything?".

Studying restaurants is a difficult endeavour. This is mainly due to the fact that restaurants are objectifications of interconnectedness of many facets of contemporary life. Anthropology is still in its early days of focusing on restaurants as research sites. The first anthropological studies of restaurants emerge from an interest in labour and gender relations within restaurants. Gary Alan Fine (1996) has conducted the first ethnographic study of the restaurant kitchen, focusing on cooks and cooking. Nevertheless, he has omitted from his focus an essential part of the restaurant: the dining room. Accordingly, by neglecting what goes on in the dining room, his work contributes to the dichotomy between cooking and eating. Yet, the very status of restaurants depends on the dialectic between what is cooked and who eats there.

[77] 'Prof' is short for 'professor'. It is common in Kosova to call university lecturers 'professor'. However, being a 'professor' helped me get access to restaurants. But, it was often counterproductive since often people expected me to study something "more traditional" than for example, *pasul* (beanstew) in *gjellëtore* (stewplace)

This dissertation is far from being an exhaustive analysis of restaurants in Kosova. First, I am aware of the relevance cookbooks have on the development of a national cuisine (Appadurai, 1988). Yet, in the Kosovar context, there is no direct relevance, mainly due to the fact that cookbooks are not used in restaurant kitchens and I have come to understand that chefs are not inspired by cookbooks nor aim to write cookbooks. There is only one cookbook written by a local cook (Gagica-Ukelli, 2006) who has become a celebrity of a TV food show, but who never worked in a restaurant. Media discourse on restaurants is limited to restaurant reviews, restaurant listings and an English language restaurant guide.

Second, in the constantly evolving restaurant industry, restaurant reviews have become essential mechanisms of popularising certain food taste and distinction. In the words of Grant Blank, "reviews are a mechanism through which social status is made publicly visible" (2007:1). They are primarily about public reputation, fame and status. In analysing the production and consumption of the restaurant review in his research in the US context, Blank argues that, "somewhere between one-quarter and one-half of all diners are influenced by reviews when they decide to try a new restaurant" (2007: 65). Although I haven't conducted a survey of the influence of reviews on restaurant choice or patterns, I can anecdotally say that most informants weren't taken up by reviews, some claimed never to have read one, and some even doubted the fact that there are reviews of restaurant in Kosova at all. In general, Kosovars doubt the 'truth' and 'authority' behind a review. The restaurant review is no exception. However, in recent years I have noticed that there are few attempts in the genre. In 2011, one of the local online magazines *Gazeta Jeta në Kosovë* ['Life in Kosova Gazette', www.gazetajnk.com[78]] started a restaurant review section. Reviews of different restaurants, taverns and cafés appear almost every other week by different authors who apparently visit the restaurant and write on the food, service, style

[78] See www.gazetajnk.com (last accessed on 5 may 2014)

and overall *atmosfera* (atmosphere). This may have been triggered by several 'review' articles written by internationals living in Prishtina and engaging in social life, who wanted to write 'snapshots' about their 'everyday life' in the city. Nevertheless, none of the authors writing for the section, which is named '*kohë e lirë*' (free time), present themselves as restaurant reviewers or food experts, nor does the magazine provide any further information. Each article is illustrated with a photo of restaurant scenery, and 'exotic' restaurants are illustrated often with a photo of the main dish, as is the case with the only Mexican restaurant in the city. Thus, the genre has started almost as a conversation between diners. Although one can argue as to the "authoritativeness" (McCroskey in Blank, 2007:4) of the reviews appearing in this online magazine (they appear to be written in good will) and may well forge a new genre of writing in Kosova. The situation is different with local 'internationals' who constantly reflect on 'authenticity' and 'freshness' of the localness presented to them in the local restaurants. There are also two editions of the "Out & About in Kosovo", written by a British worker in Prishtina,[79] charting the local restaurant scene for international visitors. Tripadvisor.com reviews are also useful to provide some information, pictures and customer reviews of restaurants. If you do a Google search for "Restaurants in Prishtina" you get 73 entries in Tripadvisor.com[80]. There are several other publications that feature Prishtina restaurants, and cafés are a particular local attraction for tourists and visitors.

Third, in this dissertation I haven't studied 'ethnic restaurants'. Yet, 'ethnic restaurants' in Prishtina have become quintessential culinary sites of tasting the 'other' (Turgeon & Pastinelli, 2002). Mexican, Thai, Chinese, and Indian are mainly considered as 'other' and exotic, whereas French and Italian restaurant are often regarded as 'European' and modern. The

[79] Capstick, D. (2009/2011) *Out & About in Kosovo, where to eat, sleep, drink and be entertained* (2009, 2011), Impact Publishing LLC
[80] See http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Restaurants-g295385-Pristina.html (last accessed on 13 April 2014)

new ‘modern’ Kosovar restaurants have incorporated dishes, sauces and culinary elements from the French and Italian cuisines, combining and appropriating them in creating new ‘creative cuisine’ in Kosova.[81] This ‘creative cuisine’ is often referred to as ‘combined cuisine’. Several ‘ethnic restaurants’ opened during period 2000-2005 serving mainly UNMIK staff and sometimes Kosovars in diaspora who were accustomed to such taste. The number of ‘ethnic restaurants’ declined during the 2005-2008 period, and then many opened following 2008. The only Thai restaurant in Prishtina, in “Fehmi Agani” street, is increasingly busy with local customers. The owners, a husband and wife, told me that they now have many local regulars and the local customer number has constantly increased over the years. Although the perception is that ‘ethnic restaurants’ are visited only by internationals, I have witnessed that many Kosovars are accepting ‘foreign taste’ as they put it.

My approaches and methodology

My motivation to study food in Kosova came from my family’s stories when I visited them in Prishtina during the period 2000-2007[82] as well as the spirit of the people of Kosova to move on and rebuild their lives. As an interested observer and listener I witnessed a lot of changes in Kosova, starting from my imaginative sense of Kosova as a free post-war country to our home kitchen table. I listened to my family speak about the way in which they coped with food during the war, hiding in villages and mountains nearby where we originally came from. I also listened to many stories told about their experiences during the war, mainly from relatives and friends but

[81] Many cafés and restaurants are serving “chicken curry” and “piri-piri chicken”. They have become common dishes not only for internationals but also for many locals.
[82] Since 1997 I lived in London, studying, working and supporting my family. My parent together with my three sisters and two brothers, were in Kosova before, during and after the war in 1999.

also from local people that I occasionally met in taxis, on benches in municipality corridors, on buses, in cafés, in aeroplanes to Prishtina, on airport benches, at memorial sites, and so on.

During my visits I joined or invited my family members and friends to eat out in local restaurants that had opened in various places around Prishtina and its suburbia, as well as at villages and cities around Kosova. Kosovars were keen to rebuild their lives and enjoy their freedom. Although they expressed many concerns about the political and economic situation in postwar Kosova, they turned quickly to leisure, play and civility. They were eager to live a normal life, where they can do what they want to do. I was constantly reminded that going to restaurants, cooking food and visiting countryside camps were primarily triggered by a desire to experience and manifest normalcy and a degree of civility.

I considered several approaches to the study of restaurants and their role in the objectification of food culture in Kosova. First, I consider restaurants as 'eating out' places and examine their role as essential agents of culinary, gastronomic and social change. Gary Alan Fine (1996) dismisses what goes on outside the restaurant kitchen. Spradely & Mann (1975) concentrate only on what goes on inside the dining/drinking room, and primarily on the gendered role of waiters. However, restaurants are neither 'just cooking places', nor 'just workplaces' nor 'just eating places'. The restaurant ontology is always already 'fragmented', 'in-between', dialectical and constitutive. They are 'third places' (Oldenburg, 2001) and as such their ability to make, bring together, unite and separate space, at the same time, cannot be dismissed.

Second, I examine restaurants as institutions where people cook, serve, eat, drink and socialise. Their 'institutionalism' is directly related to taste, standardisation, specialty, innovation, change and consistency. Restaurants are key sites were dishes, recipes and certain forms of national cuisine standardisation 'are being applied' (Karaosmanoglu, 2007: 426). In

close association with other gastronomic institutions, such as tourist agencies, restaurant reviews, government promotion and so on, restaurants become culinary institutes working to standardise, (de) territorialise, traditionalise and modernise national gastronomy and cuisine.

Third, I examine restaurants in the spirit of material culture studies (Tilley, 2006; Buchli, 2002; Miller, 1995; 1987, 2008). This is a view diametrically opposed to that provided by Finkelstein (1989). I see restaurants as creative agents in the social life of food, civility and leisure. I examine their role as constitutive in the larger gastronomic, culinary and social life. Thus, in this dissertation I consider restaurants as agents in themselves and always in relation to the wider gastronomic, culinary social and cultural context.

Fourth, my research is phenomenologically rooted (Tilley, 1994; 1991, 2004) and dialogically conducted (Clifford, 1983). I try to foreground experience rather than representations of experience. In observing and analysing restaurants and food culture, I attempt to identify 'intensities' as they appear and act upon experience. The experience is my informant's experience: restauranteur, cook, waiter, and diner. Following this pattern of thought, I engaged in an ethnography that avoids interpretations that allow rapacious associations of 'transitology' derived concepts without being backed-up and motivated by thick ethnographic description. This description should be written as an evocation of carnal and practically rooted experience of my informants and myself. Throughout my thesis I try to engage my attention to the social field and social action as objectified in the social life of food in restaurants. Attempting to evoke the sensibilities of local knowledge and experience, I provide an ethnography, which, to my best intention and knowledge, is written in a language that is embodied and felt.

However, this poses a challenge. In Tilley's words, phenomenology 'attempts to reveal the world as it is actually experienced directly by a subject as opposed to how we might

theoretically assume it to be. The aim is not to explain the world (in terms, say, of physical causality or historical events or psychological dispositions), but to describe that world as precisely as possible in the manner in which human beings experience it' (2004:1). Tilley also suggests that from the 'phenomenological perspective language flows from the body, rather than mind, or rather from a mind that is embodied, bound up with the sensorial world' (2004: 26). He continues to acknowledge the importance of embodied language in evoking the sensorial nature of things. He states that 'when I speak a foreign language, however technically competent I might be, the words, their sequences, their nuances, their sounds simply do not have emotional and bodily resonance for me as those in the language I acquired as a child. I do not *feel* for them in the same way; they do not arise from the innermost core of my emotional being but instead take on the character of a gloss: words that possess meaning but do not have depth' (2004: 27).

As English is not my native language, translating my informant's experience and understanding of food and foodways, especially the sensuous relationship with it, proves to be a challenge. However, challenges are neither dilemmas nor dead-ends. Anthropology is used to facing challenges since its beginnings. As long as evocations of local actions and experiences are rooted and also reflect a rooted and embedded understanding of them, this text may benefit from local terms, concepts and ways of infusing them into the English language.

I have used many words and concepts that came up during my being-with-informants and being-with-food and food places, as they bring a sense of poetic experience captured in time. This has loaded the text with local words that are used continuously throughout the dissertation, hoping to bring out 'intentionalities' and 'intensities' of local experience into a reasonably readable text. I also used my own interpretations, as I experienced and felt myself, whenever I recognised it as supplementing the evocativeness of the field. In talking about the issues of

serendipity among young anthropologists doing PhDs and fieldwork, Daniel Miller argues that 'young researchers should be opportunist in letting the field decide the path of their already planned research in the upgrade proposal' (2013: 228).

The assumption of doing ethnography in restaurants and cafés is that you can be confined to 'place' and not be able to 'pursue' the routes of motility and mobility of people, things, aromas, memories and practices that merge in, out, around and outside the restaurant place. Ethnographies of restaurants can be kept mortgaged to restaurants as 'fieldwork sites' and ethnographers can certainly, as it has been shown (Fine, 1996, Beriss & Sutton 2007), be conducted within the contours of the restaurant field. But ethnographies of restaurants and kitchens can also be extended outside restaurants, to the whole foodscape that is intrinsically linked to the restaurant. Restaurants are gastronomic foodsheds, and as such they bring together food, people, objects, art, music, smell, plants, animals into a world of 'home', 'work' , 'wedding ceremony' even 'gallery' and 'museum'.[83] Restaurants bring materialities, ideas, practices, symbols and technologies to a total social phenomena permeated by aesthetics, ethics, politics and economics. As Beriss & Sutton argue, 'restaurant[s] seem to play a role that is revealing of deeper social trends' (2007:3). As such, they call for an anthropology that is engaged in studying down, up, sideways, though, backwards, forwards (Hannerz, 2006).

I attempt to avoid projectionist ideas that observe the postsocialist present and project a desired future, in favour of thick descriptions of present challenges, paradoxes, pathways, trajectories, and the 'everyday' ways in which individual agency tries to appropriate, express, refuse, invent and remodel their past through their social actions. After all, I aim to engage in an anthropological study, not in an ideologically interested moralist critique.

[83] Locals referred to restaurant called "Illyricum" in Gjakova town in Western Kosova as a 'museum'. The restaurant is full of objects that reflect ethnicity, tradition and 'historical imagination'.

In the context of material culture studies, one of the many aims of anthropology is to show how the global forms, things, practices are appropriated in local, localised, appropriated context, and what do they do and mean to people and how they make sense of them and themselves in the process of objectification or culture-making (Tilley, 1999, 2006; Buchli, 2002, Miller, 1995). For example, in the context of 'local culture' vs 'global culture' that "conjure up in "touristscape", Tilley argues that 'everywhere throughout the world, local peoples in response to opportunities afforded by the global tourist industry are putting their culture on display" (1999: 245).

For example, in Kosova people talk precisely of *dinamika, dinamika e jetës, jeta u ba dinamike, po duhet me u gjet në këtë dinamikë* (dynamics, life dynamic, life has become dynamic, you need to find yourself in this dynamic) as a coping strategy as well as an existential identification in changes and challenges faced with when doing and dealing with the political, social, economic and cultural context that is supposed to be 'out there' as a macro-context. Through *dinamika* and everyday embodiment in the materialities, practices and communications associated with it, people appropriate the 'out there' into their lives. In the process of 'altering states' (Berdahl et al, 2000) and the 'state-building' process (Ante, 2010), Kosovars are entangled in the very contradictions, paradoxes and ambiguities that have emerged in the trajectories drawn *around* them and *on* them. No doubt, they can be most salient in the challenges of statebuilding processes, which in turn are challenged by issues of lawlessness, parallel structures, and shortcomings of the institutionalisation of government structures, a hybrid process dubbed as 'stuck in the mud' (Beha, 2012). Nevertheless, this is precisely the change which anthropologists are interested in studying, rather than providing structuralist or moralist critiques of how they are now and implying how they should be or not be in the future.

I have chosen three sites as main sites of my fieldwork. I have also structured my analysis accordingly. I have focused my study on traditional restaurants, common local eateries and contemporary cafés. I have also structured my dissertation chapters accordingly. This is not to suggest a clear differentiation. In many aspects, those restaurant types overlap and converge. Yet, there I have noticed a corresponding 'gustemic and convivial topography' of restaurants in Prishtina. It is the locals themselves that point out to this main triad of eating and drinking places as being embedded in the local gastronomic field.

The first site is Liburnia, a restaurant that offers 'traditional cuisine' in a traditional setting designed and decorated to 'traditionalise' the eating experience. The restaurant is staged to perform local cuisine culture mainly for Kosovars themselves, returning diaspora and internationals working and living in Prishtina, as well as tourists and travellers alike. It opened in 2006 in Meto Bajraktari Street in the Old Town part of Prishtina. The second one is *Te Dili gjellëtore* in Mati district in the southeast of Prishtina. The *gjellëtore* are well-known common food places whose origin goes back to Ottoman rule in the region. This *gjellëtore* serves common food made of ingredients produced in local farms. It opened in 2010. The third site is a contemporary café called *Boheme* which opened in 2007 in Pejton, Prishtina's most thriving café district in the urban centre. It is designed to resemble contemporary European cafés and bistros, with *fin de siècle* photos and paintings hanging on its walls. The café culture in Prishtina is noted for being an 'unexpected' phenomenon due to its young population and unemployment.

In total I spent over 20 months conducting research mainly in those three sites. I also visited other restaurants in Prishtina and throughout Kosova. My family and friends were quick to inform me about new venues. I also spent a considerable amount of time in visiting countryside restaurants around Prishtina and elsewhere in Kosova. Several times we took our

English and Austrian friends to those restaurants for lunch or dinner. I also ensured that during the two year intensive fieldwork I visited food festivals, food fairs and promotional events.

I spent considerable time in those places, observing, questioning and conversing with people who came in to eat and drink and be with others. One of my preferred observation and investigation techniques was to join and invite people that I knew already, including family and close friends, to dine out with me, or to invite me when they went out. Many people were introduced to me by the waiters themselves whom I made good friends with. I ensured that I took into account the 'one-off' experiences as well as the 'regular' experiences of guests who came in to dine or drink.

I spent over six months cooking in two kitchens. I worked with cooks and assisted them in their daily cooking activities; this was mostly done during mornings. My experience working as a cook in London during 1997-2001 gave me confidence in working in the kitchen.[84] Yet, some cooks insisted that as a 'professor' who is researching food culture and tradition, I should not engage in such 'dirty activities' and always wanted me to observe. 'We cook, you watch!' was their main motto. As a father and husband, living with my family in Prishtina, I bought and cooked food consistently and invited friends and family to my flat too. We gathered many times at my father's house for Sunday lunch as a 'get together' family activity.

In Kosova, I ensured that I visit and observe a large number of reputable new restaurants, which were opened by those who had skills and experience abroad. Many of them were friendly and talked to me about their experience and intentionality, many weren't bothered and many ignored me. The three sites I chose to concentrate my observations were particularly interesting

[84] In London, I worked in several restaurants. I learnt to cook and ever since I enjoyed the diversity of cuisines available in London. My taste developed to accept almost all cuisines, flavours and sauces that I came across. My palate was open to 'global cuisines' offered in London and my attitude to food and eating out enriched my social and cultural life in London, something which has become part of me and I will never forget.

for the specific food they served as well as their setting and place. I wanted to ensure that I focus at the 'eating out experience' in the places that are identified in some way by people who make and serve the food and people who eat it.

During my research in restaurants, I interviewed over 80 cooks, waiters, and diners in general and conversed to more than 200 on occasional cases. Only occasionally did I use a sound recorder; most of my informants weren't expecting to be recorded and often refused categorically. Most of the time I wrote down their answers and jotted down their common phrases. I was keen to also write my observations and experiences when I left the restaurant and went home. During two intensive fieldwork years, I was mobile within Kosova. I also visited Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro, Greece, Turkey and Croatia. On several occasions I witnessed commonalities. Yet, I also witnessed differences. My wife accompanied me to many restaurants, usually on special occasions such as weddings and when we invited our friends from other countries who had come to Kosova. Thanks to my some of my friends who were regulars in some restaurants and cafés, I was introduced and able to continue my research.

CHAPTER III

Performing and Experiencing 'Traditional Cuisine' in Prishtina restaurants

"Food is more than a symbol. When you study food, you get to the heart (the stomach, really) of the Europeanization of former Soviet-bloc countries. You understand the events of that transition at a level well beyond abstract concepts of globalization and free-market economics. Food makes abstractions real. Food makes the political personal. Simply because everyone eats, food makes issues accessible, vivid and tangible. Food makes it easier to relate to the daily experiences of people in distant countries as their societies transform around them. To what extent are the transformations successful? Discover what is happening with food and you will have the answer." (Nestle, 2009: xi)

"I don't need people to tell me how to make *tavë*. I don't need a recipe or a book for that. We have been making *tavë* for ages. But it would be different if there was serious research into finding out the real *taban* of food that Albanians have eaten for centuries and then work on that to produce something new. I would certainly consider that...something similar to what you are doing, proper research. It would be really good to travel to remote Albanian places to find out what they eat and how they make it and then mix it with modern European culinary methods. We need to go to Europe *me kuzhinën tonë tradicionale por të modernizume* (with our traditional cuisine but a traditionally modern one)"
(Lulzim Halili, *Liburnia* restaurant owner and head chef)[85]

Entering *Liburnia*

Behind wooden and ornamented *Liburnia* doors a stoned pathway leads to *çardak* (garret), the front entrance room in the two storey-house. The first floor is divided between toilets, with their own entrance, and the store rooms that are connected to the kitchen through internal stairs. The

[85] With his permission the owner's name (Lulzim Halili, or short Luli) and the name of his restaurant have not changed. All other names of informants in this section have changed for anonymity reasons.

urban traditional house is built in the 19th century in a vernacular style that reflects the Ottoman legacy.[86] The house is characterised by timber-line ceilings, large wooden windows, wooden squeaky floors, çardak, *hamamxhik* (bathroom) and many other features typical of the urban traditional houses remaining in Prishtina.[87] These houses once belonged only to *sheherli* (city dwellers) who lived in the urban centres of Kosova and other regional towns that were under Ottoman rule.[88] As you move along you may see the *shpianik* (house caretaker or warden) working around the house, fixing things here and there, watering flowers or stacking chopped wood near the *furra*.

Oborr (the courtyard) is full of fruits trees and flowers, adding a touch to the otherwise gloomy neighbourhood, shadowed by a multi-storey building erected recently. Among the many objects neatly placed near the house and throughout the garden, there are various culinary tools used in the past. Garlic braids and strings of red pepper hang on walls that are painted with a nuance of terracotta colour that suit the rustic visual harmony intended for this restaurant. The courtyard walls are high, as though they were there to protect the house from an invasion. Flowers and fruit trees blossom in their confinement within the courtyard, which is filled with a considerable number of tables arranged around the courtyard walls. During the breakfast time the tables are covered with white paper coverings. After lunch the colour of deep red *sofrabezi* laid

[86] The Ottoman houses built 18th and 19th century are commonly called traditional. The recent local architecture studies provide evidence and arguments that 'all research until now on the Albanian and Balkan traditional housing ... show that there is not direct link between the ethnicity and the home typology. However, this doesn't mean that the ethnic factor with its characteristics...doesn't influence the type of housing' (Riza & Haliti, 2006: 13 translations is mine). They argue against the idea of "antiquity-modern" uninterrupted continuity of ethnic architecture in Balkans in general and Kosova in particular. Their research proved that the traditional Albanian house in Kosova was utilitarian and open to "appropriating new and rational achievements in general" (2006: 64) and it had "certain specifics and typological achievements" in the context of feudal society and its diversity.

[87] The "Ethnological Museum of Prishtina" is also established in one of the eldest houses still remaining in Prishtina, the Emin Gjiku Houses complex, situated in the Old Town part of Prishtina near the Green Market. The museum opened officially in 2006.

[88] For a general introduction to sheherli in Balkans see Akan-Ellis, B. (2003) *Shadow genealogies: memory and identity among urban Muslims in Macedonia,* Berkeley: University of California Press.

on tables dominates the colour range of the courtyard. You don't find *sene t'vjetra t'katunit* (Old things from the village), often called *objekte me vlera kulturore e etnografike* (object with cultural and ethnographic value), as you would in some restaurants in villages nearby or in other towns. You won't find deer horns or fox tails hanging on the walls, nor scythes, axes or *pocrrkë* (a ladle used by peasants as body washing tool). This is more like *oborr i sheherlive t'tyneherit (*Old *sheherli* courtyard). Here you can find selected objects belonging mainly to the urban past, some *katun* (village) culinary tools, and 'artistic' work crafted by Luli himself.

Fig.5. *Liburnia* courtyard

Kuzhina (the kitchen) is situated on the right side of the restaurant-house. You can enter it from the inside of the restaurant or from the courtyard entrance adjacent to the oven. As you walk into the restaurants the gentle breeze wafts the kitchen smells to your body, intruding upon your very consciousness. You would ask: What is that smell? Where is that smell? Who is that smell? When is that smell? You could also say, to others or yourself: I know that smell.

As you walk inside the kitchen, you can hear the knife chopping on the board, while the chopped pinewood is being burned and *speca n'gjizë* fry on the pan. If you glance outside, you see customers sitting nearby and you see how they sit, turn, move, and compose their bodies, waiting for the food to arrive. The tastes and smells of what is going to come are enticing. "They can't wait to have the *llokuma*" says Hanife, one of the main chefs in the kitchen. She is happy that young professionals are having a late breakfast in *Liburnia* especially to enjoy her *llokuma* served with honey, cheese or yoghurt. Every morning Hanife prepares the dough to make *llokuma*. She also prepares the *tespishte*, a local traditional sweet that mothers used to make every *Bajram* (Eid). She uses *fi* (ashes) in her water. This is a culinary technique of cooking with ash that has accompanied humanity since the early ages. "It purifies your blood. Don't worry, it is good for you. My grandmother used to make tespishte with *fi*. It is from *ktynehere* (the old days)"she says. A *tepsi* of tespishte will last for up to two weeks.

On the other side of the kitchen, Lirie busies herself with preparing the vegetables, the yoghurt and the meat for *tavë*, a traditional casserole type of dish combining lamb and yoghurt, baked in clay pots in a wooden oven. She uses a little spoon to scoop from a *t'lyen* (a traditional butter bought in the local village) basket to sprinkle the on dish before placing it in the oven. "It is for *shije* (taste)", she says. She is surprised how things have turned around. "In the past, none liked *t'lyen*…; people thought it had a strong smell. Now everyone is after it. Old things are back in business," she says, whilst writing a message to Emine, who is one of the owners of the restaurant or as they call her *e zoja e shpisë* (the lady–head of the household), to buy some more ingredients needed for the days preparation, including fresh meat from a local *mishtore* (butchers).[89]

[89] I was told that meat bought in local *mishtore* (butchers) used to be imported from Sanxhak region (a cross border area between Serbia and Montenegro), well-known for raising livestock and producing cheese. Since spring 2011,

Driton, the *furra* assistant, supplies the restaurant with his own *miell* (flour) made from the wheat crops cultivated in his four hectare field of wheat in his village nearby. "This is what you call fresh bread, *prof*! Write it down please, that we use only fresh *miell* for our bread… made from Kosova land. Like we did in the past," he says to me whilst I am writing down notes of my impressions of cooking in their kitchen. Driton is proud of the fact that he is able to sell his *miell* to the restaurant and contribute to "keeping the tradition" as he calls it. "You know, prof, we (meaning Kosovars) have a lot of arable land, good land, which produces *tana t'mirat e Zotit* (all the God's given goods) but we are not cultivating it….we are lazy…. (after he pauses and reflects, he then returns and says to me in a manner that I am familiar with) …But, when you turn on the other side, it is difficult…it is not worth it. Your work and you can't sell it. It is only for yourself. You have to work to earn cash, and the land doesn't produce cash nowadays".

On the way out you may bump into *shpianik* who is bringing the fresh vegetables and fruits from the local *Pazari i Gjelbër* (Green Market). The *shpianik* is advised to buy them only from those Liburnia has built a relationship of trust with. "Well, we get them from the local farmers that Luli (the owner) has found. They are from the villages nearby, in Llap, Gollak, Bajgora, but also from *Fusha e Kosovës*… Sometime we get things from Dukagjini, Rugova and the Sharr region too…it all depends what Luli finds…but on a daily basis we have our own people in Pazar who supply us. They are all *katun* (village) and fresh food".

As you enter the *çardak* you see witness an interior décor, a staging that is similar to most traditional or ethnic restaurants throughout the world. A bricolage of various objects constitutes the décor of the restaurant. Staff consistently repeat the phrase: "This is all from the chef's brain. He is an architect as well". There is a lot of attention to detail, and it seems that there is a

---

most of the meat in local butchers came from local *thertore* (local farm – large butchers) based in Dukagjin (Western Kosova) region.

tremendous amount of energy put into this restaurant's décor. Even the chairs are ornamented to suit *harmonia* (the harmony) of the restaurant. There are many *mburoja* (shields) on the inside walls of the restaurant, all ornamented with silver filigree.[90] In the words of the *Liburnia* staff, those shields signify something emblematic of ancient Illyrian tribes.[91] There are many lanterns, coffee grinders, wooden chests, and mixed media paintings (usually with filigree) harmoniously placed within the restaurant. The whole decor is organised into a design simulating a restaurant bricolage with references to traditional *sheher* (town) houses, a Mediterranean colour feel, to selected *katun* culinary and agricultural work and historical and ethnic signs of identity.

As soon as you walk in you are greeted with a smile and *Mirë se keni ardhë* (You are most welcome), a phrase that is commonly uttered to *mysafir* (guests).[92] As you sit down and make yourself ready to order, you are approached by either Fatmir, Fitim, Besim, Dalip, Vigan, Tahir or Besart, all *Liburnia* waiters, and re-greeted again in the common ritual of questions like "How are you?" "Have you been well?" and so forth, which is more than the usual greetings you get from waiters. It is a traditional way of approaching the guest, asking how he is, how his family is, and so on.[93]

Then you are immediately asked for drinks, and waiters, or *kamariera* (*singular kamarie*r), as they call them in Kosova (from Italian *cameriere*), are eager to ask you of the type

[90] Kosova is famous for its filigree jewellery. The local *filigran*i are associated mainly with the crafts in Prizren. There are around 2—small scale family business of *fIligrani* makers in Prizren. In 2012 Kosova was represented in Venice Biennale with an exhibition called *Then Filigree Maker*, by British-Kosovar architect Përparim Rama.
[91] Liburnians were supposed to have been an Illyrian tribe residing in Dalmatian region near the town of Opatia. The Illyrian origin became of sentimental interest to Croatian, Slovenian and Montenegrin academics during socialism. Nevertheless, the Albanian language became an object of much scrutiny to local and foreign scholars engaged in origins of Albanian people. The Illyrian thesis weighed more on the scale of evidence than the other Thracian or Dacian thesis, allowing Albanian to steer all historical research (under Hoxha's communist regime) towards building 'scientific arguments' for the Illyrian origins of Albanian people. As discussed in chapter 1, the idea of Illyrian origins was valued highly among Albanians everywhere in Balkans.
[92] Most restaurants in Prishtina use the word *mysafir* meaning 'guest' to refer to their customers. Occasionally, waiters chatting to themselves use the word, *klienta* or sometimes *kastumera* (from English 'customers')
[93] Elizabeth Gowning has noted the greeting ritual in Kosovar homes in her bee guide to Kosova. See Gowning, E. (2010) *Travels in Blood and Honey: Becoming a Beekeeper in Kosova*, Signal Books: London

of coffee you prefer, sometimes recommending their house *kafe turke* (Turkish coffee). Many people turn up only for a coffee since it is not easy to find places that serve *kafe turke* in town, although at home *kafe turke* is still the preferred choice over the *makiato*.[94] Most of the time waiters prefer to recommend guests dishes, whilst most guests prefer to see the menu, to peruse through the variety of dishes presented in the restaurant. When you order, the waiters never write down your order, they remember it and write it down in the bar and then place it in the kitchen. This skill is valued as being connected to and caring for the *mysafir* (guests). One of the head waiters put it: "To write in front of the customers, asking 'what', 'what' 'please say it again' and so is just treating them as if they are in the airport. This is traditional place. We try to treat *mysafir* as we treat them at home, exactly as *tradita shqiptare* (the Albanian tradition) requires it". Waiters are advised to offer customers a starter before their main meal, even if they don't order it. Sometimes noodle soups are recommended "from the house", allowing the customers to experience *degustim* (degustation). Then, when the hot clay dishes such as *tavë* or *fërgesë* are placed on your table, you are then advised to wait until they have cooled down. *Kulaç*, the small round bread, accompanies almost every dish, for Kosovars can't do without bread. The word 'bukë' which means 'bread', is also used to mean 'food' in general.

Banal gastronationalism

In his study of nationalism in an everyday context, Billig (1995) argued that "as far as nationality is concerned, one needs to look for reasons why people in the contemporary world do not forget their nationality" (7). He maintains that the reason we do not forget nationalism is that it is ordinary and banal. It is practiced and produced in everyday contexts. Most of the time it is taken for granted and not deliberated. It is embedded in the everyday banal practices. In relation to

[94] A discussion of the social life of coffee and cafés in Prishtina is presented in chapter 5.

flag-waving, Billig asserts that it is the flag hanging unnoticed outside, and not the one waved in commemoration that constitutes the ordinary banal nationalism (1995: 7-8). Tilley argues that Billig makes a good point but does not consider material culture. Accordingly, Billig's discussion is confined to discursive means and not material objects. In his own reflection of gardens in Norway and England, Tilley (2008) reflects on banal nationalism as objectified in gardens. According to him, "how people think about and understand gardens, produces and reproduces the nation through their normative understandings of what gardens mean to themselves and others" (2008: 223).

As discussed in chapter 2, food can be a great arena to study the expression of identity onthe one hand, and banal nationalism on the other. Research evidence provides arguments that food, cuisine and restaurants are all tools for and sites of 'national identity expression' (MacClancy, 2007; Cusack, 2004; Ayora-Diaz, 2012). Claims on authenticity and exoticism have become essential for food products and cuisine in the global market. Thus, the importance of national signifiers have increased significantly in recent years, spawning what DeSoucey (2010) calls 'gastronationalism'. Accordingly, gastronationalism describes nation-making practices that use food as a medium for expressing ideas of collective belonging and distinction. She uses examples from France and the way in which French food, as a result of globalisation of food markets, becomes a powerful tool of state institutions and other factors engaging in nationalism. In her essay on gastronationalism in Lithuania, Mincyte (2011) also recognises the forces that use food, in her case the traditional Lithuanian 'zeppelin', to imagine the nation in different historical times. Mincyte argues that concepts and markings such as 'lack of civilisation' or 'underdevelopment' have played a crucial role in the production of national

subjectivities, claims to modernity, and have manifested themselves in the culinary culture of Lithuania.

Restaurants are good arenas to investigate 'banal nationalism'. Almost everywhere in the world, 'ethnic' and 'traditional' restaurants are constituted upon the idea of displaying 'iconic' objects, paintings, photos, and materialities that reflect certain 'modes of identification': family, regional, city, and national. A restauranteur can be argued to be a 'bricoleur'. The idea of creating novel solutions by using or retrieving old resources is referred to as 'social bricolage' (Lévi-Strauss, 1962). Accordingly, in his intuitive thought, the 'bricoleur' attempts to re-use available resources to construct something new solely by intuition. Lévi-Strauss compared a 'bricoleur' to an 'engineer', one who designs a plan before he continues to construct his idea.

In postwar Kosova, restaurants were constructed as 'ethnoscapes' (Appadurai, 1996; Kadriu, 2009). National costumes, flags, maps showing Albanian territories and Albanian cultural signs were displayed in the restaurants' landscape. Dishes such as "Scanderbeg"[95] steak, "Illyrian salad" (replacing Greek salad) were common and widely displayed in new restaurants. Kosovars wanted to freely foreground and display their own culture in order to reproduce ideas and feeling of ethnic and national belonging.

As the above descriptions shows, *Liburnia* is built on the plan to use materiality that reflects ideas of nation, patrimony, and ethnic belonging. The décor and some of the dishes have become the main props in 'staging authenticity' and 'reclaiming the past'. As Kadriu (2009) shows, in traditional Albanian restaurants in Kosova, décor and dishes are often used to 'ethnicise' food and place in attempts to produce a 'national taste' (2009: 87). Restaurants serve selected regional dishes, their own 'specialty', and different international dishes. They also design and decorate their interior and exterior landscape using different materials from different

[95] Albanian medieval here who fought against Ottoman Empire. See Schander –Sievers

pasts. Immediately after the war, most of such restaurants that opened in Prishtina and other places throughout Kosova, used 'things from village life' to decorate the restaurants. When I asked the restauranteurs and waiters about the reason for such excessive decoration, most replied saying they wanted to have "something traditional so we don't forget who we are". For example, Kadriu (2009: 99-100) notes that in one of the restaurants in Peja you can find three different historical epochs juxtaposed together in the interior landscape. Some restaurants are designed to 'reflect' only ethnic Albanian tradition as performed in the village, distanced from the urban Ottoman heritage and socialist modernity. Some other restaurants are eclectically plural in choosing what elements of the past to display and foreground in their décor.

One of the extreme banalities I have come across during my research was in *Kruja* restaurant near Ferizaj in Kosova. Here the whole restaurant is built, designed and decorated on the theme of Scanderbeg (1405 -1468), the Albanian medieval hero who fought Ottomans. The museum in Kruja, a town in northern Albania, is built during communism as an objectification of the myth of Scanderbeg, which served the communist elites to propagate their own ideologies.

In *Kruja* restaurant in Kosova, I spotted a dish named "Scanderbeg sword". To serve my curious anthropological taste, I ordered the dish and received a shish-kebab type of dish served with rice and peppers. According to the waiter, the chef who had "invented" this "house specialty" to reflect the overall theme, ambiance and philosophy of the restaurant. The dish was tasteless and undercooked. Yet, I realized that two of the customer sitting in the table next to us, a diaspora family, ordered the dish, too. The father, whom I kindly asked to let me know what he thought of the taste of his dish, said that I was not extraordinary but he want to have an national Albanian dish he "can't get abroad".

Fig.6. Restaurant *Kruja* near Ferizaj

Fig.7. 'Scanderbeg Sword' in the menu

Fig.8.'Scanderbeg Sword' or 'Shish Kebab'

Although new restaurants are constantly trying to omit some of the 'banal' dishes and names that composed the menus of early postwar restaurants, there are many dish names that are

manifestations of such banal gastronationalism. Another example could be given with *Liburnia*'s ex-dish called 'Illyrian salad' which replaced 'Greek salad.

Culinary diversity

In *Liburnia* half of dishes served in the menu are not traditionally eaten in Kosova. In the words of one of the chefs, the menu is composed of international dishes appropriated to local taste, and local dishes standardised in their version of specialty. "You have to mix both: international and local dishes. People want different things at different times. Sometimes internationals come here for local food, sometimes they just want pasta or pizza made in a wooden oven. We have the means and we do it. If not, we wouldn't last". Similarly, Luli argues that the Kosovar diet has changed since the war, and they have to adapt to change. According to him, traditional dishes are demanded, and the restaurant makes a wide range of traditional specialties. Nevertheless, due to many different and varied requests from their wide range of guests, they include what they call international dishes too. He puts it very diplomatically: "We are not limited to just our traditional dishes, because we have a lot of guests in our country who sometimes want their common food too. Also, Albanians are used to foreign food, both the diaspora and the locals, so they require that. But, the traditional food that we have chosen to serve here is of real *taban* (bedrock) of Kosovar local food. It is also served in an alltraditional place. This is what makes the restaurant *tradicional kosovar shqiptar* (traditional Kosovar Albanian restaurant)".

Nevertheless, *Liburnia* staff declare that they use 'modernity' to ensure that 'tradition' meets the current requirements. They see modernity as an envelope or design for the traditionality of their restaurant, food and service. In one of the conversations, Dalip, one of the head waiters, said to a customer: "We are a traditional restaurant and we do most traditional

dishes you can find in Kosova, even things that are not on the menu. Our chefs are experienced and can do anything. But we also do modern food…We like to be traditional but in a modern way". When I asked him what 'modernity' meant to him, he referred to Europe. Accordingly, modernity is sensed and experienced as designed, organised, shining and sleek – a form to be used as a pathway to Europe. Yet tradition requires modern forms, connoting transcendence of archaic tradition. Most of the local customers as well as Kosovar Albanian diaspora used the word 'symbolise' to describe the *traditionality* of the this traditional restaurant. Nevertheless, when you probe further you may discover many different experiences and meanings that people draw from those restaurants. The relationship that locals have developed over the last decade with the newly opened traditional restaurants is certainly complex and layered in different carnal experiences as well as meanings.

Restaurants have accepted culinary diversity as a norm of modernity. Often, traditional dishes are 'aestheticised' and 're-presented' to guests in ways which are seemingly different from local culinary principles. For example, the 'Tavolina suedeze' (Swedish table) has become a norm in many restaurants in Kosova, including *Liburnia*. Most parties organised in Liburnia used the principle of distributing food in large tables, where guests could pick anything they liked. Other examples are also significant. Many international dishes are appropriated for local cuisines, and menus are often dichotomised with an 'international section' and a 'local' or 'traditional' or 'Kosovar' section. The international part of the menu is often made with dishes ranging from various international cuisines, mainly Italian and French, but also Mexican and Indian. You could have 'Chicken curry' next to 'Chateaubriand' and 'Fajitas'.

Richard Wilk (2006) suggests that diaspora migrants, tourists and the local response to them are fuelling 'culidiversity' in Belize. He shows how tourism and globalisation in general

generates ‘locality’. Belizeans are constantly trying to search for their authenticity to display for themselves and their diaspora migrants and for tourists. Similarly, restaurants play a crucial role in the ‘re-invention’ of tradition in Maltese food culture by reproducing the romantic view of Mediterranean life and village life (Billiard, 2006). Ayora-Diaz (2012) shows how restaurants play a crucial role in framing Yucatecan cuisine. Drawing on territorial culinary fields they try to distinguish themselves from what is commonly known as Mexican cuisine. In Cantonese cuisine, culinary principles of what was considered Cantonese cuisine were essentialised mainly due to the fact that different principles found the way into food, especially ‘outside flavours’ that connoted different cultural identity and social hierarchy (Klein, 2007).

Although non-culinary factors playing a crucial role in the reshaping of tastes and Cantonese cuisine in China and Hong Kong is one example of appropriating change in the basic flavour principles (Klein, 2007), other studies show that Turkish high-end restaurants are constantly engaged in the preservation of taste by means of re-creation of Ottoman dishes, whereas taverns maintain taste memory in a middle-class setting (Karaosmanoglu, 2009). Karaosmanoglu shows that both high-end restaurants ‘preserve’ smells and flavours according to ‘tradition’ handed down as a historical research (restaurants) and ‘custom’ handed down as familial practice. This juxtaposition may invite arguments for the ‘invention of tradition’ captured in the distinction between ‘tradition’ and ‘custom’ (Hobsbawm, 1983). However, Karaosmanoglu asserts that ‘invention’ is active in both. In another paper he argues that the character of ‘open cuisine’ and cosmopolitanism associated with the Ottoman past is central to contemporary cuisine-building in Turkey (Karaosmanoglu, 2009).

Invention of tradition?

I will now turn to discuss the notion of 'invention of tradition', which has become a common conception in recent moralist critiques of tradition within the process of localisation and globalisation. The term 'invention of tradition', coined by the historian Eric Hobsbawm in his introduction to the edited volume "The invention of tradition" (1983) together with Terence Ranger, has become one of the most commonly used and maybe most wide-reaching concepts today. It has become a norm, especially in the field of cultural studies, to use 'invention of tradition' as lens to 'spot' cases of local practice. As James West Turner argues, the phrase spread rapidly into social sciences, "perhaps because it contains a 'hook.' It appears to be an oxymoron because *tradition* implies venerable age and continuity while *invention* implies novelty and deliberate fabrication" (1997: 347). The polemical nature of the concept 'invention of tradition' emerged in the context of the criteria for identifying real and invented traditions. This criteria, according to Hobsbawm, depends on historical evidence in studying customs and is almost entirely based on the ability to conduct historical observation. Nevertheless, historical observation is not always possible, especially when we deal with cultural practices that are not documented but embodied in memory techniques, rituals, bodily movements, and so on. In this context, many scholars (including anthropologists) have objected to the idea of dividing real traditions and invented traditions into different camps. Instead, most anthropologists have treated all culture and tradition as an invention and construction.[96]

[96] For a further discussion of the 'invention of tradition' in anthropological research see: Handler, R. & Linnekin, j. (1984) 'Tradition, Genuine or Spurious', *Journal of American Folklore*, 97 (385): 273-90; Briggs, C. (1996) 'The Politics of Discursive Authority in Research on the "Invention of Tradition"', in *Cultural Anthropology* 11, 4; Rigsby, B. (2006) 'Custom and Tradition: Innovation and Invention' in *Macquarie Law Journal (2006) Vol 6*; Blant. B.K (2008), 'Secret, Powerful, and the Stuff of Legends: Revisiting theories of Invented Tradition' in *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies XXVIII*, 1(2008):175-194.

Following Edward Shils, Handler & Linnekin (1984) argue that the dichotomy real/invented exists only in interpretation, since tradition as a practice is an ongoing process of recreating. Thus, the proposed dichotomy serves as a 'hook' to justify the desired effect argued by Hobsbawm: to find power and repression and exploitation in various practices performed by various institutions. According to Chris Tilley, focusing the anthropological analysis only on the 'invention of tradition's' theoretical framework would be to miss a great deal. Observing and analysing Small Namba shows, Tilley argues, that "the entire discourse on the invention of tradition is clearly predicated on a notion that while some cultural practices are invented or objectified, others are not" (1999: 255). He argues that the authentic and inauthentic customs that anthropologists engage themselves with are distinguishable from the conceptually different ur-originary forms in which "some kind of direct continuity may be claimed from an untainted pre-colonial, pre-contact and pre-modern past" (1999: 255). Similarly, the very essence of ethnicity is found in continual creativity, diffusion and change. Elements drawn from outside of the group are brought in, combined and reinvented inside in new forms that create that distinctiveness. For Tilley, all expressions of culture or ethnic identity "are equally 'inauthentic or borrowed'" (199:256). The idea of invention, thus, lies at the very heart of culture-making and objectification. To invent means to create, sustain and change in the process.

In this regard, the 'invention of tradition' launched by Hobsbawm is not in all cases useful to observe the local culture as performed in the light of the new global trends. There may be a case to argue that tradition is invented for political legitimation within certain changing times. This is supported by evidence especially in cases when tradition is forged and manipulated by ideologies, as was the case with 'culture' and 'tradition' in Ceausescu's Romania (Verdery, 1996) and Hoxha's Albania. Similarly, ideological regimes in various parts of the

world instrumentalised tradition for their political purposes, leading to destruction rather than revitalisation. However, when the same argument is used as a magnifying glass to observe and interpret all places in all times where there has been social change, the argument weakens and becomes ideological in itself. Even if we want to analyse the ways in which tradition has been misused by repressive regimes, the concept of 'invention of tradition' is the least relevant one. A more relevant concept would be 'instrumentalisation of tradition'. This is due to the very time-honoured feeling about the concept 'invention': making new things. The word instrumentalisation on the other hand, connotes the effect 'in function of', 'coercive', 'means without ends', and so on.

'Peeling tradition': tavë-making and *tavë*-eating

One of the main dishes that is 're-presented' (Handelman, 1998) in the traditional restaurants in Prishtina is the *tavë* dish. *Tavë* has become an iconic dish in the menus of recent 'restaurant tradicional', a dish that both the locals and international guest seek to taste. There are many versions of *tavë* or *tava*, each competing to climb from a regional dish to a national representative dish (Mintz, 1996). Almost all Kosovar diners I have asked, have repeatedly noted that *tavë* is the 'queen' of the traditional restaurant menu. "If they don't do a good *tavë* then they are just a café set up by guys who want to sell *makiato* and sandwiches", said Shyqri, a businessman from Prishtina. Although *fli* is considered to be the icon of 'Kosovar cuisine', due to the long and difficult process of making *fli* in urban restaurants[97], *tavë* has climbed to the same position.

[97] Some restaurants in villages across Kosova make *fli*, too. This is a difficult culinary process to enact and usually only the restaurants in villages can engage in such culinary practice. I have observed fli-making in restaurant "Kulla" in Zllatar, a village nearby Prishtina and in restaurant "Planet" in Kmetoc village near Gjilan town in South East of Kosova. A reflection on some of those 'traditional restaurants' across Kosova is provided in Kadriu, L.

Fig.9. *Tavë* Liburnia

To what extent is *tavë*-making and *tavë*-eating representative of the complex local objectification of the de/territorialisation of Kosovar cuisine? How is tavë-cooking and *tavë*-eating performed, experienced and evoked in an embodied and embedded lifeworld, in relation to tradition, taste, home and culinary and synesthetic distinctiveness? Below I will present evidence of *tavë*-making as a sensuous 'invitation to Kosovar tradition' in the restaurant, and *tavë*-eating as intended, unintended and situational acts of territorialisation of Kosovar cuisine.

Tavë/tava is a stew slowly cooked in a clay pot. It is made of vegetables and meat, cooked in tomato sauce or, in the case of *tavë Elbasan* or *tavë* kosi, in yoghurt. Each region or town claims originality and authenticity in *tavë*-cooking. The cooking of local *tavë* may be understood as entertaining the cultural and social distinctiveness of the town or region.[98] The

(2009) *Glokalizimi: perceptime kulturore*, Prishtinë: IAP. Recently, *fli*-making is becoming a recreational activity for urbanites escaping to local villages.

[98] The word *tavë* is argued to derive from Turkish *tava* which in turn is supposed to have derived from Persian *tawa*, an earthware pot or an iron plate. Albanian cookbooks published in Albania, feature *tavë* as the quintessential Albanian specialty alongside *dollma, sarma*, and *burek*, dishes you can find across Balkan cuisines. The culinary metamorphoses is a usual thing in Balkans and other regions ruled by Ottoman Empire. As Nasrallah (2010) points out, *musakka*, the "Greek" national dish may be witnessed in different places of Middle East and Northern Africa under different names such as *brania* or *borani*. Nevertheless, towards the end of 19th century *musakka* established itself as the "official" name for a number of variations all prepared in shallow pans. The *borani* is witnessed in Kosovar kitchens, too, along the *musakka*. It may well be argued that the Ottoman cuisine standardized the discourse and terminology of the regional dishes that it appropriated into its culinary sphere.

most famous *tava* are the *tavë kosi* or *tavë Elbasan, tavë Gjakove*, *tavë Prizreni* and *tavë turli*, named mostly after the town where they were cultivated. Nevertheless, almost each restaurant makes their own *tavë*, known as *tavë e shpisë* (house *tava*). For Hanife, the eldest *Liburnia* chef, who is hired to 'personify' the traditional culinary culture in Kosova, *tavë* is the dish divided into two branches: with yoghurt and meat, which is specific in itself, and; with vegetables and tomato sauce, which includes a range of ways to do it. She confirms that *tavë Gjakove* is mainly done with vegetables, including onions, tomatoes, peppers, and carrots, cooked in butter with salt, peppers, paprika and *Vegeta*. Reflecting on the changes made recently to *tavë*, Hanife said that *tavë Gjakove* is traditionally made without meat, whereas other *tavë* are made with meat. The *Prizren tavë* also uses okra. They are scarce in Kosova, but thanks to imports from Montenegro and Bosnia, they can be found in the market. At the end, *ajka* (single cream) is always used on top of it. To my question of why you add *Vegeta*, the popular seasoning powder, Hanife said that it needs it for taste. She mentioned that in the past, her grandmother made *tavë* using only onions, peppers, and maybe a carrot, to which cut and boiled tomatoes were added. Hanife explains this as traditional way of making *tavë Gjakove.* Hanife believes that it was due to the scarcity of meat that *tavë Gjakove*, as traditionally prepared at home, was meatless. She remembered that during festivities her mother added meat to the *tavë*, which tasted differently, and for her not as good as to what they were used to in their everyday diet.

Tavë-making has changed in recent decades, especially so since the rise of the restaurant as the leading gastronomic institution in post-war Kosova. In *Liburnia*, the new chefs under the guidance of Luli work on the logic of combination and mixing. Although Luli relies heavily on his family origin and memory of dishes cooked by his grandmother and mother, he wanted to name his tavë with a new name called *tavë Liburnia*. The restaurant also offers *tavë kosi*, *tavë me*

mish viqi (Veal tavë) and various other *tavë* including *fërgesa* and *boshqe* as variants of *tavë*. A whole section in the menu is composed of different variants of *tavë*.

The *tavë*-making process is supposed to be straightforward, yet no one *tavë* has the same taste across restaurants in Prishtina. New taverns and restaurants are using different combinations of ingredients to make *tavë*. *Tavë*, thus, is considered as a combinatory specialty, building on top of the basic *tavë* mixture of vegetables and meat in thick tomato sauce sprinkled with butter. So there are '*tavë* me…' (*tavë* with…) versions, including seafood ones, which are cooked and consumed as local specialties. *Tavë* is also changed according to guest taste.

Peeled peppers and 'peeled tradition'

On one occasion a table of four customers ordered *tavë Liburnia*, but requested that less oil than usual is used, and asked for traditional *tavë Gjakove*. One of the guests remembered that on her last visit she had a *tavë Gjakove* as recommended to her by one of the waiters. She had been here with a group of international colleagues who were keen to taste 'authentic' food from Kosova. Then she asked the waiter about the chef's background and when she was informed that one of the *Liburnia* chefs came originally from Gjakova, she wanted to order *tavë Gjakove* for her guests. To her surprise she liked the *tavë Gjakove* made especially for them, hence the return with her husband and another couple for the same type of *tavë*. She had mentioned that it had *speca t'qirum* (peeled peppers) and it was very tasty. She asked for the same tavë without meat but with peppers. Dalip came to the kitchen to discuss it with Hanife, who looked out of the kitchen door and recognised the table of four. She then started to make the dish but advised the waiter that it would take probably around 60 minutes for the whole thing. Hanife was happy that

the *tavë* she makes is requested by the *mysafir*. She turned to me saying that "*tradita e mirë nuk hup*" (good tradition doesn't disappear).

According to these guests who asked for *tavë Gjakove*, dining out in restaurants is all about tasting 'real traditional food', which they can't cook at home. Touching the *tavë* clay pot, and pointing to the restaurant *furra me dru* (wooden oven), one of the mysafir mentioned that "*tradita qishtu e ka, t'piqet si rreshka e tavës, e s't'lshon ma*" (this is how tradition works, it bakes in you like the crispy part of the tavë and doesn't let you go). All of them nodded to the claim and extended their remarks about how traditional food tastes good when it is made with *katun* (village) ingredients such as fresh vegetables.[99] When I asked about best *tavë*-making restaurant in Kosova, one of the guests advised me to go to Gjakova and Prizren to taste 'real' *tavë*, the others were saying that it depends entirely on the chef, since according to them, even some places in Gjakova and Prizren have modified the way they serve *tavë*.

> **Guest 1 (male):** 'It is about the determination of the owner or chef to keep the taste. If they want to keep the taste as it was before then they are traditional, but if they experiment with taste then the dishes may be tasty but they are not necessarily traditional…Nowadays everyone claims to be traditional but it is not that easy to be traditional either…'
>
> **Guest 2 (male):** 'Tradition is not just to throw food in a pot. Tradition has its order.'
>
> **Guest 3 (female):** "Of course…but now it is fashionable to modify and adapt tradition to suit modern ways. Taste is also changing. You know how long it takes to develop the taste of this *tavë*…how many grandmothers have burnt themselves bringing this taste

[99] *Katun* food is discussed in more details in chapter 4.

about…Now every chef changes things as he wants them and calls them as he wants them…"

Guest 2: [complaining] 'We have no tradition to keep the tradition, we have no education, no culture!'

Guest 1: 'Yes, yes, you cannot display tradition just like that …you have to peel it off, you have to keep up with time. Nowadays, the whole world is doing it, in order to save tradition. You must modernise it, you must peel if off a bit, you must know how to put it on modern forms'

Guest 4 (female): 'Nowadays they are not peeling it but everyone is grafting tradition as they want now. Various things have entered here. What can you do?'

This noted encounter between mysafir in *Liburnia* is almost representative of the debate about traditional culture, which is almost entirely conceived by Kosovars as being folk culture, as performed in the *ktynehere* times. Kosovars seek to experience and perform tradition as re-formed and re-presented in light of national, transnational and international pathways that lead to the necessary modernisation process. Tradition must be re-modelled, reflecting a 'peeling' process. Accordingly, tradition needs peeling for two reasons: to get to the pure substance and to rid it of the dirt and rot. Other metaphors are also consistently used in relation to the revitalisation of tradition. *Me krasit traditën* (pruning tradition) and *me shartu traditën* (grafting tradition) are also used, often to describe a process of changing and re-modelling of traditional ideas, practices and materialities. As *krasitje* (pruning) is an accepted form of revitalisation, *shartimi* (graftage) is perceived as total transformation and thus unacceptable. Nevertheless, the word *shartim* is often used to mean grafting the already grafted, and hence polluted body of

tradition, with new refreshing tissues from the original (peeled off) tradition. This has been witnessed in highly ideological states such as Albania, where tradition ought to be purified (getting rid of the Oriental 'dirt') and 'extracted' from the relics of the 'clean' past. [100]

Yet our guests performed their understanding of how tradition should be re-presented in their very order. They ordered tavë, cooked by Hanife, and *sallatë me djath Sharri* (salad with Sharr cheese). Sharr cheese is cheese from the Sharr Mountains, distinctive in its taste and the traditional way of making it. They also ordered *brosketa në furrë* (bruschetta made in the oven) and *kungulleshka me salcë pikante* (zucchini with hot sauce). For them this was a traditional dinner, tasting traditional dishes such as *tavë* and regional ingredients embodying the taste of a local place. The bruschetta and zucchini supplemented the core of their 'sofra', as they put it.

After several complaints about the lack of tradition and lack of professionalism to 'peel the tradition' (*me qiru traditën*) in order to present it in a new form and keep up with current global/modern influences, our mysafir 'turned to the other side', a local perspective of looking at things differently, usually in the spirit of dialectical apology for the state of affairs in their life-worlds.

> **Guest 3**: 'When you turn it on the other side, something has started to develop, to get in order. People are being inspired from abroad, they are copying things, mixing things, a little bit here and there, and it is not that bad…considering the war, considering we are a new state, somehow there is a vitality and buzz…'
>
> **Guest 2**: 'Well, something has developed, but we have somehow quickly changed. Modernity is coming quickly. We have no tradition to meet it and maintain things as they

[100] See chapter one or a more comprehensive discussion of the role of ideology in constructing the myth, history and consciousness of 'self' and 'other'.

do in Europe. They maintain tradition and modernity as they please. Here everyone want just to "eat" and "grab" (meaning the country, the community or the society)'

Guest 4: 'Well, this is how it goes, slowly. Maybe one day we will not be as greedy as we are now, maybe we will learn one day. We won't await that day but our children or maybe grandchildren will await that day. But when you look at it from this side, people have returned from abroad, have invested their money and something has developed here'

Guest 3: (after speaking about children and their future, turned to me) 'In the past we couldn't get out that much, neither to pick and choose dishes like now, nor to eat in the restaurant. All that was there, it was done at home. There weren't two/three restaurants in the whole of Prishtina. And those from the Committee when there. Women stayed at home. Now we're choosing tradition and modernity and it is good enough. This is how things come and go. They all come to be…'

Guest 1: 'Those who got out of here and saw how things happened abroad…peeled themselves off and brought things from abroad. This has enabled things to happen, otherwise we had nothing in the past. If it wasn't for abroadness we would be left with nothing.'

This conversation illustrates the Kosovars' experience of dining out in relation to their changing social lives. Those changes are perceived as ruptures and continuities between a traditional static past and dynamic modern present. Through the metaphor of 'peeling', people describe how identity is constructed. *I qirum* (peeled) is a common metaphor of describing a person who is civilised (*i civilizum*). Someone who is 'peeled' is supposed to present themselves as clean and

neat. They must have good manners and be in control of themselves in front of others. Usually those who have experienced 'civilisation' in Europe are considered as being 'peeled'. The assumption is that they must have 'peeled' off layers of their 'archaic' identity and have appropriated manners and ways of 'civilised' Europe. Sometimes the word '*peeled*' is used interchangeably with the words 'i dalun' (the one who has been abroad, who has travelled and appropriated global manners). *Jashtja* (abroadness) is constitutive of an aspired identity. In the local terms, those who have lived, worked and been educated abroad have enabled the process of modernisation, which is ultimately the path to the civilised world, mainly associated with Western Europe.

As the example above shows, there is a dialectical approach to tradition: critical and apologetic. Kosovars express self-criticism about the 'presentation of culture' as well as 'excessive consumption'. There is a consistent struggle for hegemony between different practices, ideas and materialities, categorised locally in terms of 'banal nationalism', 'turbo folk', 'static archaism' '*kullerizëm'* (from English 'cool') and '*jashtja*' (abroadness). Yet it is commonly maintained that only those who are 'i qirum' that have the sense of the right measure in 'peeling' the traditional culture to 're-present' and represent to the world and to Kosovars themselves as those who are constantly aspiring for a new experience of tradition in light of global flows. Using food, landscape and gardening metaphors, Kosovars attempt to categorise their position in the road to 'modernisation-civilization'.

Sofra and cuisine

In Prishtina's so-called 'traditional restaurants' one can observe a growing palatability for food that is associated with past culinary developments in urban towns. I have noticed that the most

popular ‘traditional restaurants’ in Prishtina serve dishes that are mainly associated with the *gjakovar* culinary tradition. Both *Liburnia* and *Tiffany*, two of the most popular traditional restaurants in Prishtina, as well as the recently opened *Dardha* and *Sofrabezi*, are influenced by regional culinary traditions, mainly due to the chefs and owners themselves, but also to local, transnational and international demands to taste ‘local’ and ‘authentic’ food, which in turn is linked to regions and regional culinary traditions. This proves the point that cuisine, in its social milieu, is more regional than national (Mintz, 1996), and regional distinctiveness competes at the national level, for the territorialisation of country’s cuisine (Appadurai, 1988).

The intention of these restaurants is to use iconic cultural resources to create a culinary distinctiveness and promote it as traditional culture, sometimes even representative of national culture. The main challenge is to find distinct foods, tastes, practices and etiquette that can be used to construct style, specialty, ‘local’ and ‘traditional cuisine’. Guests who visit the ‘traditional restaurants’ expect to taste that distinctiveness. Seeking authenticity and locality is not just a tourist intention. Locals as well as returning diaspora visitors engage in similar activities. For them, authenticity is a way of ‘returning to the whole’ – the synesthetic whole offered in the act of eating food. Most metaphors of home are expressed as taste and smell metaphors. As Sutton notes, metaphors that link senses and home are vivid. “It really smells like Greece” (Sutton, 2005: 304) was noted as an expression by a Greek migrant in London.

Fig.10. With my wife Ganimete Arifaj-Canolli tasting *tavë* from the new restaurant in town called *Dardha* in Prishtina

Restaurateurs by profession and intuition are aware of the synesthetic experience of food, and design their restaurants to simulate that experience of locality, traditional embededness and home. In *Liburnia,* 'tradition' and 'home' are enacted and modelled on a very particular memory of locality, tradition and lifestyle. Many guests in *Liburnia* pointed out to me the *sheherli*[101] feeling of *Liburnia*. For many customers, *Liburnia* was a place of *tradita qytetare* (civic tradition), which is in itself a complex stratification of civic culture, evolving from Ottoman to postwar lifestyles and transformed and re-presented in a combining and reflexive style.

Luli (the owner) responded very warmly to my description of his restaurant. I said to him that I felt that there was a revitalisation of different traditions in *Liburnia* and an attempt to re-

[101] As discussed in Ellis, (2008) 'sheherlis' are those considered as the first inhabitants of Ottoman towns whom the new arrivals met when they migrated to town. Often the term is used for those who have been in the city for generations.

present a new Kosovar cuisine or 'newborn' cuisine, evidenced as a process of combination and *gërshetim* (mixing) with international cuisine. He responded saying that his idea is to bring together traditional foods from all pasts, regardless, and present them in a new manner or service that is traditionally modern. His family's past has a major influence in the culinary skills, presentation and service in the restaurant, as well as in the selecting, design and presentation. Nevertheless, he views Kosovar cuisine as a regional cuisine which is a component of the pan-Albanian cuisine, a cuisine characterised by regional diversities. Although Luli maintained that Albanian cuisine is regional, he subscribed to the general idea that 'Kosovar cuisine' is large *sofra* that belongs to an even larger Albanian *sofra*. He mentioned culinary diversity as the main characteristic of Albanian cuisine, which in itself was perceived as territorialised cuisine associated with the Albanian lands. Each *ana, regjion, treva or zona* has its culinary characteristics.

In several conversations, Luli mentioned the tradition of *aheng/rend* which is a typical tradition of conviviality and lifestyle developed in the Dukagjini (mainly in the town Gjakova) region. The *aheng* is the ritual of eating, drinking and singing during the evening, usually around *sofra* (a low round table) full of food and drink. The drink is usually *raki*[102], and food included *meze* (grilled meat) and other small foodstuff such as pickles, pastries and so on. It is argued to be a typical Gjakova tradition, dating back to the 17th century.[103] Such traditional rituals are re-

[102] *Raki* is a local type of brandy, considered as traditional Balkan spirit and can be found in almost all Balkan countries. There are various types of raki: plum *raki*, grape *raki*, pear *raki,* and so on. Although, homemade *raki* is considered to be the best and most original, there are various *raki* producing factories that have established in the recent years. In Kosova, *raki* is consumed at home and in restaurants and cafés. Many families in Kosova, usually western Kosova, make raki themselves at home. *Raki* is also produced by local companies. One of them is "Darda" *raki* from the "Bodrumi i Vjetër" cellar in Rahovec, a well-known town and region in Kosova for wine and *raki*.

[103] Krenar Doli points out that the tradition of *aheng* in Gjakova is immemorial but all evidence suggests that it may have started in 16 century. According to him this is an oral tradition associated with wedding ceremonies but continued as a separate form. It was structured as ritual, intersected with humor and jokes. See Doli, K. (2011) 'Tradita e rendit-ahengut në Gjakovë' in *Gjurmime Albanologjike Folklor dhe etnologji*, issue: 4142 / 2011/2012, 319- 325. Similarly, aheng was also cultivated (maybe before Gjakova aheng) in the town of Shkodra in Albania. It

presented as events that glue the social activity within restaurants for organised occasions. They are usually modelled as such in *martesa* (weddings), *fejesa* (engagement parties) and birthday parties. The *aheng* tradition around *sofra,* a low round table, is given particular emphasis in media representations of traditional 'culture'. The Radio Television of Kosova (RTK) is one of the biggest 'culture and tradition' promoters, airing videos made by local musicians depicting the 'aheng' culture of singing around s*ofra*. *Aheng* is mainly a gjakovar ritual of conviviality, whilst sofra is a concept, practice and materiality with the shared national meaning.

As a concept, *sofra* objectifies togetherness, conviviality, exclusivity, unity, as well as diversity.[104] In the Albanian traditional folkways, noted by local ethnologists, those who give 'food' (*japin bukë*) and lay down their *sofra* are perceived as holding on to the sacred code of hospitality, which is argued to be the essential characteristic of Albanianess.[105]

Sofra is thus a concept, a practice and a materiality. *Sofra* is open and closed, inclusive and exclusive, displaying local food as well as 'brought-in' food, poor and rich, regional and national, historic and contemporary at the same time. *Sofra* can expand to include new inventive dishes as well as display old iconic components. As a place of sharing and conviviality, a centripetal body that brings new dishes around distinctive dishes. In the domestic culinary sphere in Kosova, this is witnessed in the practice of laying *sofra* with *fli* at its centre. The restaurant practice of expanding and diversifying food is a continuous process of searching, combining,

---

is pointed out in local discourse that Gjakova and Shkodra were "sister" towns that shared a lot of traditional folk cultures. Maybe this is due to their centrality as urban towns in Ottoman Empire.

[104] The local *Darka e Lamës*, a Thanksgiving dinner originally initiated by the president of Kosova, Ibrahim Rugova, known as the historical president, is also organized around *sofra*. *Sofra* takes the middle place in the space of the organized event, with many dishes laid on it. The iconic *Fli* is always at the centre stage, representing the quintessential Kosovar dish, which is supposedly not made elsewhere in the same form, shape and culinary practice. Other dishes such as *mantia, speca, speca t' mbushun, Sharr cheese, Turshi, reçel*, etj.

[105] In fact, as I child I have witnessed many occasions when people were valued and talked about in my father's village, where I usually spent my summer vacations, as morally good people, on the basis they had laid down their *sofra* and provided food for guests. This is discussed in Statovi-Halimi, D. (2006), 'Studimet për ushqimin popullor shqiptar' in *Albanological Research Folklore and Ethnology Series* (Gjurmime Albanologjike Folklor dhe etnologji), issue: 3435 / 2005, pp. 47-85 and Krasniqi, M. (2005), *Mikpritja në traditën shqiptare*, Pishtinë: ASHAK. See chapter 2 for my review of literature on traditional foodways.

revitalising and innovating new dishes, and is what I want to call the sofraisation of Kosovar cuisine. Hence, the sofraisation of food embodies the very competing practices in traditionalising, territorialising and de-territorialising Kosova cuisine in 'traditional restaurants'. The Ottoman, socialist and 'European' culinary cultures are supplemented, re-invented and merged to construct the new and refined Kosovar cuisine. The negotiation and transformation of traditional cuisine in the long process of invention, innovation, diversification and standardisation is characteristic of sofraisation of cuisine.

In catering to both internationals and local mysafir, restaurants are contributing to the Kosovar gastronomic field (Ayora-Diaz, 2012). In the traditional restaurants and taverns of Prishtina, local visitors, internationals, tourists and returning diaspora find the shrine of local cuisine and gastronomy. Restaurants attempt to provide taste that is authentic, local and traditional. Yet none of the traditional tastes are standard, as each restaurant develops its own 'Kosovar' iconic dish such as *tavë*. Also, in attempts to 'transcend' the local static diet and taste, restaurateurs are engaged in 'modelling' a nouveau taste, combining and mixing what is considered to be traditional with various foreign cuisines in the process of 'culidiversity' (Wilk, 2006). *Liburnia* embodies this process more than any other restaurant in Prishtina. Observing the way the menu developed during my fieldwork in Liburnia, and observing the presentation of dishes in other restaurants, I am convinced that traditionalisation, re-invention and diversification are all factors in the sofraisation of local cuisine and gastronomy.

Fig.11. Arsim Canolli, Lulim Halili (Liburnia owner) and Kazuhiko Yamamoto talking about food, Kanun and tradition in *Liburnia* @ Kazuhiko Yamamoto

Luli is keen in 're-inventing' local cuisine by mixing it with the 'best world cuisines'. This is understood and practiced as a warranty for the success of the restaurant. In Luli's view, the practice of appropriating culinary diversity is likened to the consumption of art: canonical national art and canonical international art. Nevertheless, Luli stressed many times that the only way for a 'new cuisine rising' in Kosova, as he put it, is the imagination of the chefs and the emancipation of taste in general. He mentioned Rene Rexhepi, the son of an Albanian who runs NOMA restaurant in Denmark, as one of the tops chefs who revived Danish cuisine, on the very idea of searching, combination and innovation.[106] "We need to have a kind of Rene Rexhepi here too. The problem is that firstly we need to emancipate the taste. It is like Gjergj Fishta who said

[106] Rene Rexhepi is a Danish-Albanian chef who is well-known for his reinvention and refinement of Danish cuisine. He received two Michelin stars and his NOMA restaurant in Copenhagen won best restaurant prizes in San Pelegrino Awards in three consecutive years 2011, 2012 and 2013. His haute cuisine is characterized by inventiveness and clean flavors. His main culinary technique is recombining old components in innovative cooking techniques. For more see Petruzelli, A.M. & Savino, (2012), 'Search, Recombination, and Innovation: Lessons from Haute Cuisine' *in Long Range Planning*, available online September 2012 [http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0024630112000490] accessed 5 February 2014

'*We have Albania but we now need to make Albanians'. S'ka pasë faj* (It was not his fault) to say it like that, because Albanians are still with burnt stomach from 'fli' and 'pasul'. There was no variety, no purified taste made slowly. There is no culture of degustim and we are trying to introduce that, but it goes slowly". [107]

Memories of 'ktynehere' (olds days)

The tactics and strategies of Liburnia are to prioritise the characteristics of what was particular about a way of life that developed in the urban towns of Kosova, regardless of whether they were under Ottoman rule or not. As Luli put it, "We cooked food in our homes. We were inspired by what existed at that time, and it was Ottoman, but I remember that my grandmother cooked this food, not Turks. I just can't bear the thought of people who want to destroy every past in the name of modern revolution. There is a way of becoming modern and traditional at the same time. But we can't say that traditional is only the peasant food…urban food is traditional too. Associating Albanians who lived in towns with Turks is not right". Thus, Ottoman traditional culture, especially what has been practiced in towns, such as Gjakova and Prizren, is constantly re-evaluated as 'traditional'. As suggested by Luli's response, the oriental is negotiated with what is understood as 'traditional' and often, as is the case in *Liburnia* restauranteurs and chefs make a claim on Oriental dishes as local traditional dishes. Often this is referred to as *ktynehere* (in the old days). Accordingly, 'the old days' was an evolving horizon in the past which

[107] Inventing and appropriating 'the best of cuisines' is an invaluable enterprise in local Kosovar gastronomy. Culinary combination is perceived as 'culinary imagination'. Nevertheless, the lack of resources, incentives and motivation is key barrier to culinary experimentation and imagination. I will illustrate this with an example in Liburnia. I was struck by the use of the same ingredients in fish, steak and vegetables sauces in *Liburnia*. Cream, tomatoes, ready-bough "Hoopla", butter, spices and seasoning such as *Vegeta*, pepper, paprika were used consistently. Chefs complained about the lack of sauces and seasoning, yet they weren't investing their time in making new sauces.

belonged to a more harmonious conviviality where people knew how to be together within their town.

The position of Hanife is similar to that of *nonnas* (grandmothers), who feature in the writing of Carol Field on Italian cooking. Field refers to grandmothers as the 'keepers of memory' and 'a link to a way of life which is gradually being lost in Italy' (1997:3). Field also writes nostalgically in the past tense and treats *nonnas* as belonging to the past. Bessiere (1998) suggests that traditional culinary practices contribute to a sense of 'heritage' development, which in turn becomes a 'truly collective concern' (1998: 30). Bessiere talks about rural attraction, and chefs returning to 'new cuisine' associated with regionalism in France. It has been argued that restaurants evoke memories and arouse historical consciousness as 'sites for public memory' (Hubbert, 2007:81). One morning, as she was peeling potatoes, Hanife told me how she got into this work:

> The main reason I am here is because this restaurant looks like the house we had ktynehere in Gjakova… with *çardak* …with *yklyke*…and it reminds me of home and my relatives…and I feel like in my own home here. When Luli called and said to me: 'Come and work with us?' I said to him 'What do I know about restaurants? Why are you asking me?' He returned: 'Do you know how to make *llokuma*? Do you know how to make *tavë?* Do you know how to make *bukë*, *kulaç, tespishte* as you do at home? This is what you can do in the restaurant'. I said of course I can, but will people eat those things? He said, yes they will love them. So I started.

Talking highly about the harmony before the war is typical for middle-age people, but some of them, like Hanife, seem to have other reasons for it. It seems that they lament the loss of kin and community solidarity and reciprocity, and express nostalgia for those 'times gone'. As she descends upon her memory landscape, she recalls that her life had been joyful. "We had *kushte*," she says, meaning good living standards. "We had our *banesa*, we went on holiday. We lived really well." As *amvise* (housewife) she cooked for the whole family, three times a day, making traditional dishes, as well as trying new Yugoslav recipes she received from her Serb and Bosnian neighbours.

She describes the sharing and using of recipes in the following manner: "We shared *receta* …I didn't speak Serbian but my husband translated them for me. I used to keep them in my kitchen *sirtar*…You know, they [Serbian and Bosnian women] cooked some great food…I used to share them with my Albanian relatives and friends. *Receta* was a sign of high culture in those days for us….because most Albanian women were illiterate…Sometimes I was called *Kjo gruja e recetave* [The recipe lady]. We memorised what our grandmothers did … and memory after memory …it reached us too. The Serbs and Bosnians and others wrote things down; they had schools, colleges and so forth for *gastronomi* … our school was our small *magje* and later on, *kuzhina* …what can you do!..."[108]

[108] During the course of my fieldwork (2011-2013) I lived in a flat in Ulpiana district of Prishtina. My next door neighbour was an ethnically mixed family: the husband was Albanian and the wife Bosnian. They were in their 70s. I managed to interview them and Nadia told me many stories of her relationship with her sisters-in-law (all Albanians) as well as other members of her husband's family. She stated that she wasn't "that welcome initially", although she shared the same faith (Islam) with her husband's family. However, when she started to cook and share her recipes with the illiterate Albanian sisters-in-law they respected and welcomed her to their homes. "I had learned Albanian and spoke to them in Albanian. I gave them many recipes, which they would keep in their kitchen to show the visiting village women that they cook with 'recipe', which was a sign of emancipation, connection to the city, a way of having higher status as cooks". She referred to Albanian culinary culture as being poor and peasant, in contrast to her Sarajevo culinary culture. Her husband laughed saying that she was a "star" among the local women and his house had become a school of cooking *torte* (cakes) for *Bajram* (Eid). He said "You know, Albanian women were jealous. None would give you the right recipe for *torte*. They would give you wrong recipe….but our women had Nadia, my wife, she knew all the recipes…they loved her for that".

Hanife mentioned several times the importance of recipes in her life. She pointed out to the *torte* (cake) recipes which were difficult to get as women wouldn't share or provide you with slightly wrong recipe. She highlights the circulation of recipes as the "circulation of personhood", since they were precious gifts for local women. According to her, *torte* were embodiments of social status and social position of women in the Albanian community. Those women who made good torte were highly respected by members of their family as well as kin and community. This was witnessed especially during the feast of *Bajram* (Eid) when *torte* were being made alongside *bakllava*. "*Bakllava* was a must, but torte was a special sign of status. Those who made *torte* were seen as good, hardworking and knowledgeable. The whole idea was to learn from those who knew *torte*, usually their relatives in *qytet/sheher*." These skills enhanced women's reputation in their household. Immediately after this, she feels like she has to talk about 'changes' and posits herself in relation to how "we are moving forward" nowadays when "modernity has entered our doorway". This is a common ritual of declaration of 'changing times' and 'local dynamics' that come as both, benefiting and damaging, to the 'traditional ways'. In Kosova, this ambivalent position between the effects of modernity, tradition and anything new is articulated in the famous phrase 'on the other had', for which the local Albanian dialect is *kur t'dalsh n'tjetrën anë* (literally: when you place yourself in the other position).[109]

She asserted the restaurant as being a result of an enabling modernity. For her, the restaurant bridges the gap between people and fosters new ways in changing food habits, food cultures and also many food taboos. Tradition is felt as an embodied way of life which may

[109] According to the elderly informants I conversed with, my father being one of them, this phrase is associated with the relationship people had with the land, as an embodied experience, usually in the practice of spotting, finding, verifying and building a dwelling place: a house. As it is remembered the villagers used different names for community dwelling places according to their bodily sensuous evaluation. They evaluated places as windy, cold, in sun's face, behind the sun, foggy, with a large view, noisy, and sometimes even according to the position of place in relation to creeks as they were a testing landscape for the beauty of sound of the *mauzerka* (long gun) shot. All through their body positions. Here are few place names: *vend, shpat, breg, qukë, kodër, kodrinë, rrafshak, bukrrinë, lugajë, zabel, podgur, rrazë, grykë, and so on.*

suffer from the homogenous aspects of modernity, and comes with international presence, diaspora, global forms of communication and interaction. Kosovars view the question of how they select, maintain and adapt traditions in the face of modernity as one of the most significant moral issues facing them at the present. The past, and its place in the present, ultimately shows the person's face in relation to categories of identity: ethnic, social and personal.

Repetition, combination, mimicry: towards standardisation of Kosovar cuisine

Through repetition of some dishes and omission of others, Kosovar 'traditional restaurants' are playing a major role in the standardisation of 'Kosovar cuisine'. Iconic dishes form the domestic culinary sphere, urban and rural, are anticipated as being the *taban* (base/roots) of local tradition. Whilst repetition aims towards standardisation, there is a noted difference within repetition, allowing many variations to come forth as a result of many factors, including chef background, experience and guest response (or guest's perceived response) to the iconic dishes.

In this section I will argue that through repetition, combination with European culinary culture and mimicry, Kosova restauranteurs aim to invent, institute and standardise the Kosovar cuisine. Initially, restaurants presented dishes from the domestic culinary sphere as 'authentic' and 'ethnic' Albanian dishes (Kadriu, 2009). There was a clear bifurcation: the local and the international sections were two separate worlds of taste. However, in the process of competition, repetition and combination, Kosovar restauranteurs have appropriated European cuisines (and global) in attempts to institute a cuisine that 'forges' a new combined 'model', known locally as *gërshetim* (braid-ing).

There are many factors that have affected and effected the standardisation of Kosovar gastronomy in local restaurants. One of the crucial factors is the role of chefs, notably chefs with

experience in European restaurants, but also the chefs that had experience in the socialist gastronomy and tourism industry. Luli from *Liburnia* is an example of a chef who returned with culinary skills from abroad. Luli learned his skills in Opatia, a Croatian town where he went to study painting before the fall of Yugoslavia. Luli mentioned that he worked in *hoteleri* (hotel industry) and *gastronomi* (gastronomy) in Opatia, where he acquired his skills. Several times he emphasises that chefs in Opatia were all educated in culinary colleges and cooked professionally. He referred to *degustim (*degustation) as being essentially the art of eating well, something he learned in Opatia. To my question of what constituted socialist gastronomy, especially in Croatian popular tourist coast of then Yugoslavia, Luli responded by saying that it was "local products and professionalism of kitchen chefs". He mentioned that fresh fish, fresh vegetables and olive oil as being the very essence of cooking in Opatia.

Luli is inspired by many culinary practices. Having a *gjakovar* (from Gjakova town) and *mitrovicali* (from Mitrovica) background he is fond of the urban food traditionally cooked in urban towns and the iconic dishes associated with the Albanian culinary tradition. Using the oral recipes of his grandmother, he learned to cook dishes that he used to eat and enjoy as a child. Yet his experience and confidence in mixing different flavours and ingredients derives mostly from his youth culinary learning in a tourist destination in socialist Yugoslavia. Although the art of cooking in Yugoslavia never developed into an *haute cuisine* as in France, for example, the Yugoslav cuisine[110], as seen by tourists, was an assemblage of different national dishes from

[110] See Bracewell, W. (2012), 'Eating Up Yugoslavia: Cookbooks and Consumption in Socialist Yugoslavia' in Bren, P. & Neuburger, M., (eds) *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Cold War Eastern Europe:* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Southern Yugoslavia, affected by Ottoman culinary heritage and Northern Yugoslavia, and affected by Central European cuisine, such as Hungarian and German.[111]

Thus, the idea of new and specialty, which is also transmitted in *Liburnia*, is mainly understood as 'mixing' and 'combining' ingredients rather than purifying, inventing or creating dishes, spices and sauces. In *Liburnia*'s case, combination is also the philosophy of décor and ambiance. In selecting different objects and artefacts to 'furnish' the restaurants, the restaurateurs become *bricoleur* (Lévi-Strauss, 1962), picking, choosing, and mixing anything from the past and the present to display, performing the diversity of traditional katun culture as well as a local 'high' culture which is perceived as gravitating around *tradita qytetare* (civic tradition). There is an eclectic attitude presented in Kosovar restaurants in general.

Chefs who worked 'jashtë' (abroad)

Recently, and especially since independence in 2008, many Albanians returned from abroad, mainly from European countries. Interestingly, the most common professions for Kosovars in diaspora has been in construction, car washing and gastronomy. Those who migrated to the UK worked mainly in restaurants as cooks and chefs. I remember many Kosovar Albanians working in prestigious London restaurants since 1997. As a student in London I worked in several restaurants myself, mainly as an assistant in kitchen and bar, where I met experienced Kosovar Albanian chefs who ran restaurants in London. Many restaurants in Kosova are run by returned chefs, either deported or returned voluntarily to open new businesses in the thriving restaurant industry in Kosova. Most were inspired by the lack of refined cuisine. Thus, they capitalised on their skills and opened new modern restaurants. With an international presence and a dynamic

[111] Many chefs lament the 'lack of tradition' in gastronomy. According to one of the chefs in Prishtina 'We haven't had gastronomic tradition…kings courts and high classes made tradition…our entire gastronomic tradition is divided in *katun* pastry and urban *tava*'.

youth and urban culture, Prishtina was seen as an opportunity to offer similar cuisine they cooked and experienced in European capitals. Most of the returned chefs opened cafés, taverns and bistros, which I will discuss in chapter 5, but some of them were also lured into the growing 'traditionally modern' trend in Prishtina.

Most chefs and restauranteurs that returned from diaspora and started working in restaurants were explicit in their intentions and aspirations. The common concept to express their aims was always *kuzhinë moderne* (modern cuisine) or *specialitete moderne* (modern specialties) or *kuzhinë e reformuar tradicionale* (reformed traditional cuisine). This meant a way of distilling distinctiveness from mixing traditional dishes in *pjata të gërshetuara* (mixed plates). This culinary endeavour to 'modernise tradition' by new chefs working abroad laid the ground for the transformation of Kosovar gastronomy rooted in the restaurant culinary sphere.

I observed a consistent tendency of new chefs experienced abroad to transcend the traditional culinary techniques, even when they were cooking traditional dishes such as *tavë*. Whilst chopping spinach, one of the chefs in *Liburnia*, having worked in Germany, pointed to the spinach leaf saying that he remembers that his mother used to cut the tail and throw it in the bin, in the name of having only the clean and the leafy part of it. "You cannot cut out the spinach leaf. It is a spinach leaf, not a *qarr* (oak) tree". He recalls that almost all vegetables were 'purified', either by peeling them hard or 'purifying' them by cutting half of their body off. According to him, this is a common feature of culinary heritage in Kosova. He was also adamant in ensuring that the individual ingredients used in the dish be 'respected' for their flavours and their taste. He contested the traditional way *me ba çorbë gjithçkafin* (casseroling everything). For him, every ingredient must have the chef's own taste in the dish, a cooking style he learned abroad. He said: "I never grate the cheese into my dishes. I cut it into small pieces so when you

taste the dish you can taste the ingredient and then melt it in your mouth rather than have everything like *lloq* (mud)". He said several times that it was difficult to influence mysafir to eat such dishes since they were used to old taste. "Our palates are baked in one taste and that's it. Thank God new people are out and about and they have tasted the world and now they seek new tastes, otherwise I would be out of a job tomorrow!" Other chefs I managed to interview told me almost the same thing: that the idea of cooking or steaming vegetables is absolutely new to the Kosovar culinary field. "There is no dish in traditional Kosovar cuisine that uses steamed vegetables. The vegetables are supposed to blend and be almost unrecognisable in rich sauce, *çorba* or *gjellë,* or *tavë*".

In the case of *tavë,* I observed that different chefs make different *tavë*. A chef in another restaurant in Prishtina made *tavë Gjakove* as they used to traditionally make it in his own city, similar to Hanife's *tavë* in *Liburnia.* As I mentioned earlier, *tavë Liburnia*, served as a specialty, was modelled on a new type of *tavë*, differing quite substantially from the original *tavë Gjakove* that Hanife, as one of the chefs, cooks at home. The influence of new chefs aiming for de-centralisation of taste on the plate, is witnessed in all those specialties presented and re-presented in Liburnia.

The diaspora visitor

Food consumption and tourism are related, but they diverge in different ways, mainly for four reasons: essentiality, unfamiliarity, temporality and symbolism (Mak et al, 2012: 176). Restaurants offering traditional food can be argued to be related to the growing tourism industry. Kosova is not a major tourist destination, yet diaspora tourism makes up for it. As research shows, diaspora tourism is 'primarily produced, consumed and experienced by diasporic

communities' (Coles & Timothy, 2004:1). Individuals and groups participating in 'diaspora tourism' share the 'myth of return' (Nguyen et al, 2004), wishing to visit their place of origin. In a transnational perspective, the returning visitor 'as opposed to the tourist who visits friends or relatives (or perhaps both) may be characterized as having extensive familial and social ties at the particular destination to which he or she is visiting. It is theorized, therefore, that temporary contact in the form of return visits functions as a means to renew, reiterate and solidify familial and social networks' (Duval, 2004: 51).

To what extent do 'returning visitors' affect the eating out experience and how are they in turn affected by eating out experiences in what seems a growing diasporic culinary tourism? How do visitors experience traditional cuisine? In Kosova, returning diaspora family members spent a lot of money in taking their families out for lunch or dinner. *Liburnia* was one of the places where many members of diaspora came for occasional dinner, wanting to experience a 'traditional' menu.

However, I want to illustrate a particular experience of the local traditional cuisine I have observed and witnessed in restaurants in the periphery of Prishtina. The restaurants are usually owned by people who live there or who own the land. Usually built by remittances send by 'brothers abroad', they provide places for recreational visits in open countryside where families can take their kids and *prishtinali* (Prishtina urban inhabitants) can escape their *banesa* (apartments) surrounded by cement. Guests could visit the restaurant not only for food but also for fun and play in the beautiful rustic landscape in the villages nearby Prishtina. As Faik notes, some of the restaurants excessively decorated with 'ethnic artefacts' that construct an image of ethnic landscapes, places where diaspora visitors "refresh themselves with antiquity" (2009:126).

In my observation I have noticed that many guests talk about the village with a pronounced nostalgia. They articulate this as a kind of nostalgia for vitality, harmony and solidarity of village life which they had experienced before the war, depending on their age and status. They contemplate the surrounding landscape, the courtyard, the décor inside, the *katun* objects placed on the walls, which once had been present in their homes, as reminders of their difficult *katun* living conditions. They refer to their life as *pa kushte* (without good living standards), but with *lezet* (joy) and *hjeshi* (beauty).

In conversation most guests I have been able to talk to have told me that life in *katun* (village) was harsh and difficult. Some criticise the 'old ways of life' when the elderly were conservative and behaved according to 'traditional' and 'archaic' rules of behaviours. Life in traditional villages in Kosova was very much associated with strict codes of behaviour, usually referred as *Kanun* (Becker, 2003; Reineck, 1990). Albanians living in villages submitted strictly to traditional norms and many still do, although villages have undergone a radical change in the organisation of life (Krasniqi, 2012).

Most of the returning diaspora visitors I managed to interview and discuss with, were originally from rural villages in Kosova. Migrating directly from the village to Western cities was a big 'cultural shock' for most of them. Returning home is also an experience of shock as many things 'have changed very rapidly'. Their memories of *katun* lives are usually the main reason for them to visit restaurants which embody *katun* lifeworld in traditional restaurants.

The view of *katun* life as an idyllic and harmonious place, is mostly articulated as a response to the very dynamic relations 'suffocating' the city life, as they put it.[112] 'Life had

[112] This is also witnessed in Russia. Melissa Caldwell argues that Russian cottages and gardens in countryside (dacha) are becoming sites of escape for recreational and healthy lifestyle increasingly persistent in Russia today. They embody what is experienced to be the 'spirit of nature' which gives nourishment to the body and soul. See Caldwell, M. (2009) *Dacha Idylls: Living organically in Russia's countryside*, Berkeley: University of California

weight', is the response that many give when asked about the old times. The past was a harmonious community, whereas the present is perceived as being a sudden rush. This is expressed as *dinamika e jetës* (dynamics of life). Everything is associated with the dynamics of life today.[113] Customers in the restaurant express this in the best way. "The restaurant and the café are places where people meet nowadays. Such is the life dynamics. People are not going to each other's homes as they used to do before. Restaurants and cafés have replaced homes" says Hazir, who is nostalgic about the old ways of community life.

Hazir migrated to Germany together with his family in the 90s and he returns often to spend his holidays in his country and with his family. For him, coming to Kosova and spending money here is a patriotic act and patriotic tourism. "I don't want to go to Greece or Montenegro. I come here, enjoy myself with my family, and then if I want to go on holiday I go to Albania. Why should we go elsewhere when we Albanians are blessed with a nice seaside?" For Hazir, who has grown up to feel that the nation is just a big family, this is something that all Albanians should do. He maintained that "we must love our country and our nation, since we suffered long enough to be able to be free". He pointed out to me several times that he wants to return, but is concerned that he can't find a job in the "unfortunately corrupt Kosova". He referred many times to "corrupt politicians" who have "eaten up" the country in the name of fighting for it during the 1999 war. The political wing that came out of war is perceived as *profitera* (profiteers) who became rich 'overnight'. "Kosova could have been Switzerland, but…they have eaten it up after the war…whoever was able to, did it." Although Hazir expresses his patriotism in several ways,

---

Press. In chapter 4, I will discuss in more detail *katun* (village) and *bahçe* (garden) as tactical and coping 'routes' in the local foodscape.

[113] Almost every informant has reflected on this topic. Food and food relations, especially community relations are the parentheses of talking about the past, tradition and the current 'modern' way of life. Some informants do also remember socialism with a certain degree of nostalgia. Socialism was for them a system where "one worked, ten ate". This is compared to current day 'capitalism' where "even if everyone works, they won't be able to feed themselves".

his relationship to home is much more complex, since his children are born and brought up in Germany and find it hard to adapt in Kosova.

There are various reasons I have noted of what makes returning diaspora visitors and their relatives go to restaurants in villages nearby. *Natyra* (nature) and *pamja* (view) and *malli* (longing) are some of the main responses that they cite when asked about the reason for their choice. I provide here part of a conversation that took place in restaurant "Kulla" in Zllatar village outside Prishtina. The restaurant is built in a stoned house simulating the traditional *kulla* (two-storey stoned houses), which are considered as typical vernacular architecture in Kosova, although their origin is dated in 18th and 19th century (Krasniqi). The *kulla* represent the traditional Albanian rural life, where large patriarchal families of up to 100 lived together (Backer, 2003). In the imaginations of Albanians, they are also understood as places of resistance against foreign occupiers. Thus, *kulla* has become a symbolic image of historical Albanian resistance. The image of *kulla* is widely distributed as a representation of Albanianess in general and Kosova in particular.

Hazir: We grew up in the village of Grashticë near Prishtina. Our traditional houses were burnt down during the war. We rebuilt them after the war but we built modern ones. All the things we had in our houses burned. Everything. So we have come here because our brother who lives here told us it is nice and it reminds us of *katun*….Well, here is a traditional restaurant with all the things we want to eat; things we used to have when we were kids in the village….He [my brother] lives here, but he built a new house too so he doesn't have anything from the past. My children were little when we left. Now they are grown up and going to school. We live in Berlin. But we speak Albanian at home. They

all speak Albanian very well. We never let them forget their language and their roots. They have to know how we lived in the past. We shouldn't forget…It is really nice to be reminded of the katun way of life.

Dita (his wife): No, we don't really….We mostly eat Kosovar food. I always make them *pite* [pie] *pasul* [bean stew] and all our Kosovar food there. Everything we used to eat at home here they have it there…..but of course, kids go to school and they get accustomed to German food, and way of life too. We can't stop that, but we ensure they know the Albanian language and culture too. Although, we ourselves have forgotten many of them.

Hazir: Yes, yes… [laughing]… That is why we have come here to show them that this kind of food and tradition is also in restaurants and everywhere in Kosovo. We don't have to be embarrassed about our tradition.

Returning diaspora visitors objectify their memories of village life in restaurants that 'simulate' that lifeworld. For them, those restaurants serve as 'places that evoke' the memory of the past that is no more. Images of village life, and selected traditional objects and food dishes, decoration of rooms simulating *katun oda* (guest-rooms in villages) and katun culinary lifeworld, have become key resources for restaurants to attract the nostalgic returning visitors who want to immerse syneasthetically in *katun* lifeworld. Restaurants are also experienced as places of escape from 'urban decadence'. There is a common view of the city as 'swamped' by rubbish and people, and without parks and places to spend their time over weekends. The restaurants that have opened in the periphery and villages nearby attract locals as well as internationals who wanted to escape the city. They have turned into recreational sites for many visitors. [114]

[114] Many of the restaurants had 'small zoological gardens' that exposed wild animals in their cages. Some of those restaurants were *Qamërlia, Freskia, Shqiponja*, etc. One of the restaurants on the outskirts of Pristina is named TE

Fig.12. Restaurant *Kulla* in Zllatar, near Prishtina

Thus, there is an increasing emphasis on what I would like to call 'katunopia'[115], in which katun life, peasant food (especially the making of the traditional *fli*) *kulla* house, and picturesque rural lifeworld, have become fantasy places for urban alienation. 'Katunopia' is appropriated by experiencing restaurants, consuming rurality images, visiting vernacular heritage sites as well as nourishing the body and soul in the experience of *katun* landscape during summer holidays, weekends and festive holidays.[116] As 'ethnosites' (Turgeon& Pastinelli, 2002), restaurants have become part of a booming nostalgia industry (Klein, 2008), and "sites of gastronomic standardization" (Ayora-Diaz, 2012) for the emergence of cuisine that is promoted as distinctive and as territorialised. As many of the returning visitors have lost their connection with the village

---

Ariu,(At Bear's) because they had bears exposed in their 'zoo'. Recently the Ministry of Environment decided to ban keeping wild animals in such public places. It is interesting to note that schools in Prishtina used to organize trips to "Te Ariu" to see the bears and other animals exposed at the restaurant mini-zoo.

[115] This is a term inspired by Alison Leitch's term 'Tuscanopia' referring to the image of Tuscan rural life mainly associated with *lardo* produce. See Leitch, A. (2000) 'The Social Life of Lardo' in *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 1:1, 103-118

[116] There is a growing phenomenon of building 'vikendica' (weekend house – from English weekend) or 'hedging' land spots in local villages of Prishtina. It is usually the migrants who 'invest' in their own villages of origin as a way of maintaining a connection with 'homeland' and their own pasts.

life, restaurants are places that evoke the 'home' and 'katun' and 'ethnoscape' (Appadurai, 1996; Kadriu, 2009). Albanians consume 'katunopia' as the place that enables them to feel and experience an 'invention' of the *katun* life as lived 'ktynehere' (in those old days), where food and décor play an important role. They use phrases such as *me i kullot sytë* (to feed the eyes), *me e hjek mallin për ktynehere* (to purge the longing and nostalgia for old days), and *mos me harru qysh jemi kanë* (not to forget how we have been in the past).

The diaspora visitors, thus, have become the main agents in the objectification of *katunopia* in postwar Kosova, as a way of experiencing 'home', 'locality, 'tradition', 'nation' and 'authenticity'. Government agencies, international agencies and local businesses are all 'canvassing' katunopia as a way of promoting local agricultural development, health and the rootedness of the 'new-born' state of Kosova. As one of my informants put it, the 'state is new-born but its people are old-corn'.

Restaurants, tradition and weddings

It is unlikely that Albanians would easily subscribe to Goffman's declaration that "The world, in truth, is a wedding" (1959: 45). Yet, in the views of a local man in Prishtina, "Albanians behave in weddings like there is no world outside a wedding but the world of wedding". Both statements may be read as metaphors of life's 'rite de passages', yet the contemporary 'wedding worlds' are changing and their change is due to many factors. Recently, Kosovar restaurants have made possible or enabled a micro-world of wedding events leading to new forms of experience.

In post-war Kosova, restaurants as microcosm (Beriss& Sutton, 2007) have opened up to the weddings as microcosms, forging a significant change in the structure of the wedding in

particular, and social life in general. Many restaurants are unofficially known as 'wedding restaurants'. They exist either as restaurants established within hotels or on their own. Some of them can accommodate up to five hundred people and are designed and decorated mainly for weddings. The excessive wedding-mania is noticeable in a self-criticising discourse as "*mentalitet tipik shqiptar*" [typical Albanian *mentalitet*]. No doubt, weddings usually dry up family budgets. In a wedding organised by a close relative, to which I wasn't able to go, it was estimated that more than forty thousand euros were spent by the family organising the wedding party for their eldest son. The rumours were spreading that they sold one of the *banesa* (an apartment) which they got in a leasing contract of their land to a property developer. Such evidence invites a much deeper analysis of the transformative phase of these 'rites de passage' (Van Gennep, 1960) in post-war Kosova. It has been argued that contemporary weddings have turned from "rites of passages to rites of class distinction" (Argyrou, 1996: 10). In this section I want to ask about the role of restaurants in 'facilitating' this transformation, and the ways in which weddings in restaurants are 'events-that-model' and 'events-that-re-present' (Handelman, 1998).

The wedding tradition

Weddings have been a subject of much local debate in Kosova. The wedding is one of the most important events for Albanians, as it alters the lives of bride and groom as well as their extended families. The wedding is not just an individual's rite de passage, but one that permeates the whole community. Weddings celebrate the marriage of two people and joining of two families, which extends to joining two communities, villages or even regions. It has also been argued that

miqësia (the social relationship created through marriage) has characterised the very structure of relationships in Albanian culture (Xhemaj, 2006).

Traditionally, *dasma* (the wedding) lasts several days, involving many rituals and a huge expenditure of money, time and energy. In the social life of village and community, the wedding increases one's reputation and position, politically, morally and socially. The memory of a well-organised and large wedding, where people ate, danced, drunk, and enjoyed themselves, is usually referred to as *muhabet* (the extent of generosity and hospitability). Sometimes metaphors such as *muhabet deri n'gu* (generosity up to the knee) connote the conception of treatment and feasting in relation to the body. If the *muhabet* is 'up to the knee', then it means that there was plenty of food and drink in the *sofra*. Thus, even though *mikpritja* (hospitality, mainly the respect shown for the guest) and *muhabet* are perceived to be associated with talking, listening and respecting the guest, food is essential in experiencing an embodied *mikpritja*. Apart from being symbolic, *mikpritja* can also be a gustemic experience.

Traditionally weddings were complex events involving a process or feasts, rituals, cooking, and activities such as competitive shooting, horse-riding, folk game playing, folk singing, bride beauty pageants, and so on. There were many roles such as *krushk/dasmorë* (those who go to 'bring' the bride to the new household), *akçi/kuvar*[117] (cook – *akçi* is a Turkish derived term, whereas *kuvar* derives from Serbian), *defatore* (women who play with tambourine), *rapsod* (men singing folk songs, usually two hour long epic ones, and playing string instruments such as *qifteli* and *sharki*), *çajaxhi* (men who made and served Russian tea) and so on. The wedding

[117] The local ethnologists Ukë Xhemaj, refers to 'akçia' as the place in the courtyard where food was cooked in the wedding. Although, this may be one of the meaning of the word, as it was borrowed from *akçi* (the cook) and transformed into local Albanian ways of naming places which would have transformed *akçi* into *akçia* (te akçia – at *akçi*'s). Xhemaj does not mentions *akçia* as deriving from *akçi* (cook) or its derivative placename *akçihane* (public kitchen) which was used for what today are called *gjellëtore* (gjellë – Albanian for "stew" and "ore" signifies placename or profession. See chapter 4 for a reflection on this. See Xhemaj, U. (2006) *Shtresime kulturore*, Prishtinë: IAP, p.183

usually took place at the groom's house where the kin (tree of blood) gathered on Thursday evening. Preparing the wheat grain and cooking *qeshkek* (wheat grain, milk and honey/sugar) imitates the wedding, bringing prosperity to the couple.[118] Although economic conditions before the Second World War were harsh, weddings are remembered as being exclusive events for which peasants sold their cattle, land and anything they needed in order to have a decent wedding. Those who had someone in *gyrbet* (migrant) could do a nice wedding without selling anything, those who didn't had to sell land or cattle (Reineck, 1990: 89-91).

The family of the bride celebrated the wedding at their own house and only met the family of the groom when the *krushk* came to 'take' the bride to the groom's home, usually on horse and in recent decades with tractors and cars. The tradition requires *krushk* to carry arms, as robberies and ambushes were common in the past. The more *krushk* a family sent to 'take' the bride the more powerful they were perceived to be, sending a message to others in the village and region about the power of their *fis* (clan). *Krushk* were all gifted by the groom's family with a *shej* (token). The Albanian wedding is characterised by a series of gifting events between families, intermediaries and guests. In the recent past, mainly in the period of socialism, when robbery was no longer the case, arms were still carried and *krushk* maintained the tradition of carrying arms with them and shooting in the air. In post-war Kosova this is still an ongoing 'bad habit', according to many, which has become the subject of much debate. Thus, 'events-that-mirror' (Handelman, 1998) such 'archaic traditions' are criticised, and people who engage in them are perceived to have an 'unpeeled' archaic mentality.

Even under communism, traditional weddings remained the same and there was no 'reformation' as in many other communist states, under the pretext of attacking bourgeois

[118] A chronological description of Albanian weddings according to local customs of Dukagjini region in Western Kosova are provided by Ukë Xhemaj. See Xhemaj, U. (2006) *Shtresime kulturore*, Prishtinë: IAP,p.165-211

spending (Aveli, 2012:137). Weddings were socially important events that belonged to tradition and the communist emancipatory engineering didn't interfere in such events. One of the factors that played a significant role in sustaining the status of weddings in Kosova was the influence of migrants or diaspora members (Reineck, 1990). Arranging and 'doing' a large wedding was perceived to be an exercise of wealth and a way to express to the community the sense of family achievement.

Janet Reineck notes that tradition is brought up in every conversation she had with locals in rural Kosova (Opoja) regarding the expenditure in weddings which is criticised yet practiced nonetheless. "*Na ka metë. Na ka metë*" (Tradition is left to us this way!)(1990: 90), is common amongst her informants. Reineck argues that tradition was simply the main factor in structuring social life in Kosova, and Albanians sought refuge in the past. Noting changes in family structure in Opoja, a recent preliminary research in the region finds that culture and tradition are not decisive as much as economic conditions (Krasniqi, 2012).

Restaurants and weddings today

Reflecting on the continuity of wedding tradition and the transformations witnessed recently, I want to argue that restaurants have played an important role in 'mirroring' as well as 'modelling' wedding events in contemporary Kosova. Yet restaurants are quintessentially sites of 're-presentation' (not representation) doing the work of "comparison and contrast in relation to social realities…raising possibilities, questions, perhaps doubts, about legitimacy and validity of social norms as these are constituted within the live-in world …whether through the juxtaposition and conflict of contraries, through the neutralization of accepted distinctions, or through their inversion, the more hidden or controversial implications of prepositional character

of the world are exposed" (Handelman, 1990: 49). In Handelman's terms, events can also be events-that-mirror and events-that-model, where the first ones present the lived-in world as it is, and the second ones intend to act upon the social world and transform it.

In May 2012 I was invited to a wedding dinner party celebrating a young professional couple who were family relatives. They come from two different towns in Kosova, but live and work in Prishtina. Both come from well-off families owning businesses and doing relatively well. They are also educated to university postgraduate level. The couple wanted to do a small wedding in a form of a dinner party, inviting only close family members and friends. The wedding parties in postwar Kosova usually take place in restaurants, either in large hotel restaurants designed purposefully for *martesa, fejesa*, and conferences, or in usual restaurants. It depends on the size of the wedding.

Gent and Sofia invited my wife and I to join them in a meeting with the head waiter at the 'traditional restaurant' a couple of weeks before the wedding party. As we walked in, they immediately liked the *atmosfera tradicionale*.[119] Their immediate reactions were expressed in nods and sayings like "This looks suitable". They wanted to organise their wedding as a small event to 'mark' their marriage rather than the flamboyant party common in Kosova. In our conversation, they emphasised that they don't want to organise 'excessive wedding parties' because to their understanding that was *katunari tipike* (typical village mentality) and *tallava* (freestyle singing locally considered as 'low' culture)[120], something which they associated with those who were uncultured and found pleasure only through its lavish show-off, done only for *mene t'madhe* (bigheadedness common to those who want to compete for cultural capital in the

[119] The restaurant they had chosen was similar to Liburnia in design, presentation and food choice.
[120] Although, *tallava* is looked down as 'low' culture, many locals who consider themselves as 'consuming only high culture music', engage in *tallava* in weddings and parties almost immediately after couple of drinks. There is an ambivalent feeling regarding *tallava* and its development mainly after the war. *Tallava* was initially associated with Roma music.

Kosovar consumer culture). They wanted to enjoy themselves amongst family members in a small wedding which would symbolically mark their marriage and serve as a 'memory-event' for them in the future. They both came from small towns in Kosova and wanted to express their social identity as *qytetar* (cityfolk), rather than greedy *katunar*.

The head waiter was almost immediate in spotting their desire to organise a small wedding party where they could eat, talk, dance to the live music and enjoy themselves privately. This was a typical 'model wedding' for him, since most young couples coming from towns weren't keen in organising large weddings with usually around 300 people (sometimes determined by the size, price and arrangements in the hotel restaurants). As a traditional restaurant in the urban centre they could accommodate only small weddings of up to 50 people in a private restaurant area.

Gent and Sofia were adamant to show that they were not subscribers to the culture of *dalldi*, an extravagant, flamboyant and seemingly chaotic festive event, currently fashionable in Kosova. Those who enjoyed such gatherings were perceived as having a backward *mentalitet* (mentality, a very commonly used word in Kosova). Yet they were quite puzzled in choosing the food. They stressed that they had elderly people, grandparents, parents, uncles and aunties that had an 'old taste'. Below I provide a part of the conversation between us and the head waiter. I was mostly a spectator and listener, whereas my wife ensured that all possible questions were asked.

Sofia: "I didn't know that there was restaurant here! It looks good...I hope the food is good too!"
Gent: "Bekim and Fata told me… you remember Bekim? They got married recently"
Sofia: "Yes, yes, I know…they are a nice couple."

Gent:" Well, they had their engagement party here"

Waiter: "I can't remember this occasion, but I assure you that we have many, many wedding parties here of all sorts. Sometimes every weekend we are full of parties and meetings and so on…"

Genti: "Well, we like traditional settings and traditional food so our guests, parents and grandparents can eat and enjoy like at home. Nowadays you have restaurants everywhere but they bring you food that is neither fresh nor tasty…I would like to treat people as we used to treat them before. Obviously, not just *pasul* (beanstew) and *krelanë* (pastry type dish) but something that is traditional as well as modern…"

Sofia: "We just want to do something that makes them *rahat* (settled) and where they can eat…We don't want to gather all these people at home… and our flats are small … going to my father's parents and inviting everyone….not convenient anymore… [pauses]

Ganimete (My wife): "But, can you cook other dishes, if we require it? Can you make things such as *leqenik*, for example, and maybe fresh *kos*/yoghurt if needed? I think food has to be a bit like at home but not exactly like home. That is why we are here."

Waiter: "Yes, yes… of course…everyone is doing the same thing…times have changed in Kosova…it is not like *ktynehere* (old days) when people were all engaged in the process of making meals and catering for guests and only the guest enjoyed. The family was serving and others enjoying…. I tell you some traditions had to change. Now, everyone is doing things in restaurant…*ditëlindje* (birthdays), *fejesa (engagement parties), dasma (weddings)*, *parti*, all … and it seems that you pay more but really at the end it is the

same….and we do a mix of thing, some traditional, some chefs specialties, people really like this kind of *gërshetim* (mixture)".[121]

Genti: "Yes, yes…no-one is stopping them to talk and engage in the traditional way. [Turning to me and my wife] If one does it here, it get rids of all that tension that is built up in the family…they come, eat, drink, and we enjoy it too and then everybody goes home… I wouldn't like a café-like place to arrange the wedding party …it needs to be a bit higher than that…a bit heavier"

Waiter: "Of course. We can arrange fresh food from *furra* (oven), fresh salads and all kind of Stuff. Whatever you want, really. We have a proper kitchen and our chefs have worked abroad. We can do a *tavolinë suedeze* (Swedish buffet)….wine, meze..."

Sofia: "O *tavolinë suedeze,* what is that?"

Waiter: "*Tavolina suedeze* can be arranged to provide you with food laid on tables, on big plates where you can serve yourselves with whatever you want. Our waiters and chefs can be there to help. Of course, foodstuffs are all ours, traditional dishes and chefs specialties, but we call it *suedeze* because of the form like the traditional Swedish buffet-style table… one of the chefs worked in Sweden and was keen in calling it that and we decided to go ahead with it."

Genti: "Yes, I know, I know (laughing) ….This is common nowdays, like *sofra gjakovare, sofra pejone*…"

Waiter: "Precisely…we actually call it *suedeze*, but it is food from our sofra and from chefs special dishes. We can do whatever you require really…maybe pastries too, as the lady [referring to my wife] mentioned *leqenik*, *bukë kollomojt*…little bit of

[121] *Gërshetim* comes from *gërsheta*, hair braid. *Gërshetim* and *kombinim* (combining) are very common word to describe mixing ingredients or dishes.

everything…maybe just to give that sense of variety…whatever you want….let me know…I can give you the menu and you have a look but also if you have any request you can certainly make it…we are here for that"

Ganimete (my wife): "Maybe it would be good to do some *leqenik, djath Sharri (Sharr cheese)* and *pite me spanaq* (spinach pie) cut into small pieces. Also can you do a *tespishte*?

Sofia: "Yes, that would be good. Tell everybody that *nusja* (bride) has made the *tespishte* … maybe I get some credit for being a *çikë e vyeme* (hardworking girl) (laughs)!

We all joined the happy couple to celebrate their marriage in their small wedding party. Genti and Sofia had arrived first and waited for us at the reception. The waiters had prepared the tables and had laid *meze* (starters comprising of meat and vegetable as well as some spreads such as *ajvar* and humus). Kosovar wine of the *Bodrumi i Vjetër* (Old Cellar) brand was distributed on the table. We learned later that Gent's parents had called in to say they were running late due to traffic. Gent was itching as it was clear that he wanted his father to be there to greet the guests and especially before Sofia's father came in, to adhere to the *tradition* of the father of the groom taking the lead role by sitting at the head of the large table prepared for them. This would resemble the place of *i zoti i shtëpisë,* and/or *i zoti i dasmës* (the head of the wedding) who sits near the *oxhak* as the traditional code of sitting in *oda* requires it. Although no fuss was made, I realised that when Genti's father walked in, Genti greeted him by saying afterwards: "Welcome dad, the *oxhak* is waiting for you!" *Oxhak* (chimney) is supposed to be the place where *i zoti i shpisë* (head of hosuehold) sits and greet the guests in the room. In fact, I realised that the place considered as the place where *i zoti i shpisë* was supposed to sit, was left empty and Sofia's

father sat across it refusing to take the place of *i zoti i shpisë*, adhering to the traditional code as a sign of respect.

Greetings were shared in the local custom of asking several times "How are you?" and then continuing to questions such as "How is your mum, your dad, your family?" ,"Where do you work, how is work?", and so on. As I mentioned, this is almost an inevitable phenomenon in Kosova, when you visit someone in their family. The wedding ceremony then was followed by a little speech from the bride's brother, who is the eldest among the 'young people' in the room. I asked Genti why he proposed that Enver, Sofia's brother, have the honours of the speech. He said that since they were in the restaurant he thought it would be better someone from the young generation to lead on, and Enver happens to be the older brother and also he lives *jashtë* (abroad). Enver was perceived as having an *abroad* self, in the way he moved, in the clothes he wore and in the way he was open and flexible to talk with. Genti's grandfather referred to him as 'djal i qirum' (a peeled boy) and '*djal i dalun'* (an aboard boy)

I engaged in discussion with most of the wedding attendees, asking them questions regarding food, traditional weddings and so on. Hana, the bride's sister, said that for her restaurants have enabled the transformation of weddings, and rightly so, as people can now enjoy everything, including food. She said that she remembered that as a child she had to help in any family relative wedding she had been to, because they took place at home and cooking is the main wedding activity. Genti's brother Baki expressed his sympathy with small weddings in restaurants, referring to 'evasion of banality' associated with home weddings. "In the past the whole household was a mess during weddings." He also noted that people were still not *t'shlirë* (loose), and sometimes when they go to the wedding they immediately express their mentality. Talking to this small gathering of wedding attendees I witnessed a generational difference in

experiencing the wedding in a restaurant. The younger generation felt more comfortable embodied within the festivity of the restaurant ambiance. For them it allowed people to symbolically and bodily enjoy the event. On the other hand, the older generation referred to the restaurant as *restoranti t'pshton* (restaurant saves you) and *restoranti asht i kohës* (restaurant is a phenomenon of time). Nevertheless, they lamented the old days when they organised and attended weddings in villages. Comparing the experiences they said that *dasma e sotit s'ka lezet* (weddings nowadays have no joy). For them the weddings of the old days had beauty and joy. To my question of what constituted *lezet*, they responded by referring to the whole rituality of wedding from the breaking of *kulaç* (initiating bread) to the *darka e ditës së grave* (the dinner of the wedding women's day). They maintained that weddings were essential landmarks of their memory. "Those weddings have remained in us (our memory), otherwise life has been very hard."

Contrary to past weddings, the current weddings associated with the restaurant are experienced as being short, symbolic and *sa me ba shej* (just to make a mark). "Those restaurants that emerged recently changed the wedding tradition", said Ferat, the bride's father, talking to me and Genti's father.

As they were going through their main meal, a sliced roast beef with rice referred to by waiters as *pjata kryesore* (the main plate) and picking on dispersed *leqenik* plates on the long table, you could see that the elderly were not using knives at all. They attempted to eat slowly and sometimes wipe their mouths to adhere to the 'modern' ways of eating. Asking for dishes without sauce was common. Food was 'recognised' as being 'restaurant food', despite efforts by chefs to cater to the common traditional taste. Observing and conversing with the elderly guests near to me, I felt that they coped with change around them through such 'shortcuts to modernity'.

Shortcutting is a rather pragmatic way of appropriating change and transformation at the local level. Here is a note from a recording I made that night, whilst I was having some fresh air outside:

> An Albanian man has passed three different civilising regimes within his lifetime. He grew up dwelling in *katun* [village] cosmology, eating *bukë* and *long* [bread and whey] and experience his life through the social life of food and food relations. Hospitality, power, love and everything else gravitated around food. Albanian culture in Kosova is a food culture. Socialism as a new civilising regime provided a pathway to modernity. Yet it was experienced as an 'other' mainly due to the hegemony of others in Yugoslavia. For 40 years or so Kosovars negotiated with socialism and learned a lot from it. But socialist foodscapes weren't inspiring apart from *Vegeta, pashteta*, *plasma keksa* and maybe *gullash*. They continued with their open sofras until todays's *pavarësia* e *demokracia.* Their *sofra* were scarce, but that was their *tradita*. Scarcity packaged as tradition. Now, sofra have expanded, enlarged and become inclusive. Kosovars lay their *sofras* with all types of food. Their exclusive *sofras* have become exclusively inclusive of food from around the world. As it was noted tonight, peeling food we are peeling ourselves in the process.

At that time of my research I was convinced that food and foodways can express a lot about the 'transformations' that are perceived to take place in Kosova. Food can show how things are felt and sensed in everyday life. The very politics of transformations are intrinsically embedded in food and eating. Regardless of what happens in politics, people continue their daily lives and

food is at its centre. How do foodscape changes affect their lives? This is a slow process that requires much attention and my ethnography is just one small attempt to observe such change.

Describing changing food habits, Fischler coined the word "gastro-anomie" (1980). This is when food habits change so much that the eater can barely cope with those changes. Guests at this wedding weren't confused to the point of loss, as all of them, including the elderly, had dined out in restaurants before. They also saw this as an 'emancipation step' towards modernity that includes tradition but in a new form. They experienced this as something that belongs to 'current times'. Genti's father, Sami, said: "Tradition requires modernity nowadays, there is no more tradition as in old days. Even the tradition is flowing with the present/today". Nevertheless, most elderly agreed that this is the way, take it or leave it. As usual the apologetic switch starts with the *kur t'dalësh n'tjetrën anë* (when you turn/look at it from the other side) and then ends with 'We are getting into Europe'. The journey to 'Europe' is seen as a process of modernisation and necessary changes to meet the European standards. Europe has always been the place for mimicry and comparison, due to large the migrant culture in recent Kosova history. *Si n'Evropë* (like in Europe) and *si jashtë* (like abroad) are not recent expressions for Kosovars endeavouring to reach to 'modernity'. Yet the recent 'Europeanisation' discourse has intensified in the wake of Kosova's aims to integrate into the European Union. Weddings are 'events-that-model' and 're-present' the attempt to embody the likeness of modernity witnessed in Europe.

As Vassos Argyrou argues, the wedding is 'a master symbol that encapsulates, expresses and helps to reproduce a complex way of life' (1996: 2). In the context of weddings, it can be argued that restaurants have changed and transformed the event of the wedding. On the one hand, restaurants have become 'models' – a microcosm (Beriss & Sutton, 2007) that operate in parallel with the traditional world it models, aiming to act upon it and transform it. On the other

hand, restaurants are re-presentations, allowing expression of doubts, criticism, alternatives and challenges. As re-presentations they release 'social pressure and ensure cultural continuity' (Avieli, 2012: 14-15).

Although some traditional aspects of behaviour are reproduced in restaurants during special 'experience' and 'symbolic' events, tradition is re-presented, displaying challenges, tensions and paradoxes within, modelling new transformations. The process of re-presentation makes the revitalisation possible, traditionalisation of tradition and culture, once seen as monolithic and static. Restaurants are not just frames of this transformation but have also constituted the very process of how the wedding experience is objectified, performed and consumed.

Conclusion

In this chapter I provided examples of how tradition is displayed, performed and objectified in various ways including various agents and events in 'traditional restaurants' in Prishtina. Tradition is performed in the process of traditionalising and reinventing local iconic dishes that are usually transformed and negotiated in taste and presentation, to fit to the 'culinary tradition and style' of the owners and chefs as 'artists' engaged in the standardisation of Kosovar gastronomy and sofraisation of Kosovar cuisine. Thus, they choose the iconic common traditional dishes from the local cuisine usually cultivated within their families or local town distinctiveness. They choose mainly dishes that derive from a mixing, combining and diversifying what is understood and experienced as international cuisine. The process of re-presentation, modelling and and multi-layered construction of Kosovar cuisine extends beyond

locality and region. Yet, both locality, region and global elements are appropriate in what I can 'sofraisation' of Kosovar cuisine.

The repetition, standardisation, rutinisation, characterised by this 'emerging mixing process' make the territorialiation, de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation of Kosovar cuisine possible. Sofraisation of cuisine connotes openness, inclusiveness and diversity, as well as particularity, distinctiveness and sameness. It is an evolving process of cuisine in construction. The experience of Kosovar food and Kosovar cuisine served in restaurants is objectified in this complex process of traditionalising, modernising and diversifying Kosovar cuisine.

As I have tried to show, performing tradition is necessarily linked to the process of searching, inventing, combining and re-vitalising the culinary and gastronomic spheres, local and global, in attempts to 'construct a new cuisine' that emerges in the local, regional, national, transnational and international contexts. Different past and present horizons are blurred in the 'synesthetic landscape' of the restaurants, evoking memories, re-presenting and modelling events and experiences, and objectifying 'locality' and 'authenticity'. Restaurants can be 'microcosms' (Beriss & Sutton, 2007) indeed, as they mesh senses, ideas, practices, and materialities gravitating towards their intentional goal: immersing your body-soul in the world of taste.

CHAPTER IV

The *Kosovore* Dilemma: 'Fast', 'Katun' and 'Our' Food

Morning

It is 6.30am on a summer's day in Prishtina. Entering the empty *Te Dili gjellëtore* (stewplace) in the morning, you feel the heat of the action to come throughout the day. The kitchen has a small window on the back and no air-conditioning. Dili is the first to open the *gjellëtore*. He turns the coffee machine on and buys the milk from the local shop. Around 6.45am, the cooks, Nazmie (female, 38) and Faik (male, 56) arrive and start to prepare the kitchen. They put four large aluminium and steel pots on top of a medium size range cooker, each assigned for the main stews of the day. They usually peel onions in the evening and leave them ready for the morning start. Other vegetables are brought in from Dili's storeroom behind the *gjellëtore* in Dili's home. The storeroom is full of common beans and other vegetables that are brought in by Dili's father from his home garden in a nearby village, usually every two-to-three days. Faik enters in and out to get what he needs to prepare the day's stews. Usually *pasul* (bean stew) and *gullash* (goulash stew) are cooked every day, whereas *oriz* (rice cooked in paella style) *lakna* (cabbage) *gjyveç* (veg stew), *jahni* (onion and meat stew) and *musaka* are cooked every other day. Nazmie and Faik rush to start the stews because food has to be ready to serve by 10am, when first customers are expected. Each pot serves up to 20 dishes. Dili helps by preparing *qebapa* (small spiced meatballs) and *qyfte* (larger spiced meatballs), as they ought to be freshly made. The minced meat is bought from a local butcher every other day. Two construction worker pop in for a quick *makiato* before they go to work. "Believe me, I hear the smell of fried peppers kilometres away," says one of the construction workers. It is 8.30am and two customers have come for a quick

breakfast: five qebapa with bread and a glass of tap water. Fiver is the most popular dish in qebaptore which is usually accompanied with yoghurt.

The heat is on

By 10am almost everything is ready. Dili asks Feim, the wiater, to see if Faik has prepared *pire* (a term for mashed potatoes from French *purée de pommes de terre*) and *oriz* (rice) to go into the counter in the dining room. Dili expects the usual crowd of customers today. Stews taken from the kitchen and poured into *kontiner* (food warmer trays/pots). Customers start to come in. As they approach the door, they are greeted. Sometimes they approach the counter and order their dishes, sit down and wait for Dili or one of the servers to take their order. Some of the regular customers immediately order: "For me, the usual, *pasul*," or, "I'll try the *gjyveç* today," or ask if there is "anything new today?" Sometimes they are served their favourite meals without being asked. As soon as the dining room is full up, there is an intensifying smell of food that is common to *gjellëtore*. The smell of fried bell peppers, *Vegeta* and *paprika* fill the room and the area outside *gjellëtore*. The smell of *qebapa* (spiced meatballs) grilled in a *skara* (grill) are food invitations for many construction workers dining regularly in *Te Dili*. Behind the counter, Feim fills the plates with stews, meatballs and glasses with tap water. "Without spoon the soul dies," says one of the regular customers. The gurgling *gjygyma* (samovar-style double tea pots) are confidently grasped by Dili to pour *çaj rusi* (Russian tea) into the small tulipan-shaped glasses used for drinking tea. Tea is quickly sipped by workers eager to soothe their stomach that was filled with *pasul* and bread. Dili is calm with a group of young workers who joined the 'Mati crew' with them but furious when he enters the kitchen, grumbling about the "Albanian mentality". He says, "I give them two free *çaj* and they want 12". It is nearly 2pm and the dining

room is still full of customers having their spoon and grill dishes. Two students ask Feim for the cost of mix of *pasul* and *gullash.* Dili interferes saying, "There is no problem, do them the mix, the price is the same!" He says to me, "You have to be flexible!" While I am having my own *pasul*, two customers advise me on how to interpret *qebapa*: "Please write it that *qebaptore* are the real Kosovar *mekdonalld*. Like in America!"

Closing and preparing

It is 3pm and there are few customers in the dining room sipping *çaj rusi*. Dili sits down and discusses with Faik the order for tomorrow's catering in *e pame* (a mourning and condolence ritual) for a family in a village nearby Prishtina. They have asked for *pasul* and Dili is keen to cook *pasul* with his own garden beans. In the kitchen, Feim is helping Nazmie clean the dishes. By 4pm Faik starts to clean the buffet counter. There are only a couple of portions of *gjyveç* left of prepared stews. Only fast *skara* foods such as *qebapa*, hamburgers, *qyfte*, and chicken fillets (usually called white meat) are served for late *gjellëtore/qebaptore* customers. Nazmie and Faik get into the routine of cleaning, peeling and preparing some of the vegetables needed for tomorrow, including beans, onions, potatoes and cabbage. For them preparing and cooking is practical work which doesn't involve explaining or writing. Recipes are never used. Cooking is an act of memorizing taste through body and mind. Sometimes senses are unconsciously mixed. Many times Faik said to me, "*Hear that smell of pasul*!"

It is 5pm and there are no customers. It is closing time. Feim, the server, starts to mop the dining room floor and the patio floor in front of the venue. Dili's father walked in and started to chat with Faik. He boasts about his fresh food from his garden and claims that the customers are

lucky to get such food from his land and grown by his hands in "this city that smells only of rubbish".

Gjellëtore *Te Dili*

Dili opened the *gjellëtore/qebaptore* in May 2010. He employs four people to help him. All are family relatives. Sometimes Dili's wife Dona comes to their help, too. *Te Dili gjellëtore* is a small place consisting of a room with 11 small tables inside (including 37 chairs) and a front patio with 7 tables (24 chairs). It operates as a family business. Dili is the manager, a cook, a waiter and the finance officer. His customers are mainly construction workers around the Mati suburb area[122], office workers, students and residents of the area. Sometimes he prepares food for weddings and other occasions such as *syneti* (boy's circumcision parties), *kanagjeq* [traditional pre-wedding women parties] and *e pame* (condolence rituals). His price ranges from one to three Euros per dish and 0.50 cent per coffee, be that *makiato* or espresso.

Dili's family come originally from a village called Besi, which is nearby Prishtina, in the road to Podujeva town in Llap region. The village was burned during the 1999 war. Their house was burned, too. They became homeless, as many Kosovars did. After the war they migrated to Prishtina, in Mati district, and built their own house in 1000m^2 of land bought with the money sent by Dili's brother in the UK. Dili is married and has two children. He shares a three-storey house with his married brother and their parents. His brother's family lives on the third floor. Dili and his family occupy the second floor whereas his parents live on the first floor. The first floor has a large kitchen and a *sallon* (saloon) – a large common room that serves as living room. This serves also as the guest waiting room, or in the words of Dili, a substitute for the traditional

[122] The name of places and informants have changed to ensure anonymity. Some of the descriptions of *gjellëtore* are used to ensure the anonymity required by informants.

'*oda*' – the guest room in Albanian tradition. The *gjellëtore* is based in half of the rented ground floor of the large house belonging to Dili's first cousin. There are three large houses (almost identical) belonging to their extended family built next to each other connected by a small side road.

Dili migrated to Germany during the early 90s in search of an opportunity to work and provide for his family. He lived there for several years working as a cook and a salad chef in Munich's Turkish and Italian restaurants. He sent most of his earnings to his family, ensuring that they could cope with the turbulences of the 90s. In 2002, he was deported from Germany on basis that he could return to Kosova where his human rights would not be violated anymore. Jobless and shocked by his sudden deportation, in 2003 he found a means to get to the UK where his first brother had migrated in the early 90s. As an illegal immigrant, he was caught and deported from UK in 2004. His dream of getting indefinite leave to remain in European countries was shattered. After several years of working in hotel restaurants in Prishtina, Dili decided to open his own business to serve the emerging clientele in his neighbourhood:

> I wanted to have my own place where I could offer food to local workers who are building this city. Look at how many *banesa* [residential multi-storey buildings] are in this neighbourhood? Before I opened the gjellëtore they didn't have where to eat. There was a bakery nearby serving *burek*, but the construction workers wanted real meals, meals *me lugë* [with spoon] as we say. I decided to open a *gjellëtore* here near my house. I know how to cook and have the experience. I rent this place from my cousin. Also, we have *katun bashqe* [vegetable garden/land plot] and my father grows wonderful vegetables, fresh and healthy. We get onions, tomatoes, cucumber, potatoes, beans,

porridge, carrots, fresh lettuce, and aubergine all from our land. I want to cook and serve proper food. I love cooking. [123]

Gjellëtore are small eateries serving preheated and fast food. They arose during the Ottoman Empire in urban towns. Locals maintain that during socialism, *gjellëtore* have included the famous regional spiced meatballs called *qebapa*. Due to their contingent practice of appropriation, most of the *gjellëtore* are also *qebaptore*, as displayed in "*gjellëtore/qebaptore*" signs in their windows, menus and logos. Nowadays, they include pizza and kebabs on their menus. In the last decade, the number of *gjellëtore*/*qebaptore* in Prishtina has increased contrary to common local assumptions that *gjellëtore* might close, as new *festfud* (fast food) restaurants, cafés, bistros, and other modern *restoran* are sweeping the city. Contrary to this assumption, the number of *gjellëtore* and new canteens serving prepared stews has increased. In a constant attempt to meet with local demands and compete as local eateries, the traditional *gjellëtore* include new foods and dishes. To follow the local trend of fast food outlets, cafés, bars and other small eateries, many *gjellëtore* are also undergoing change in the way they cook, present and serve food.

It is difficult to pinpoint the right term for fast food restaurant and eateries. In the hospitality industry, they are usually called quick service restaurants. There are, however, various other terms used in English to connote particular type of fast food or quick service restaurants including terms such as luncheonettes, beaneries, fast-food counters, chophouses, inns, taverns, diners, restaurant grills, cafeterias, bistros, kiosks, take-aways, and so on. It is equally difficult to find acceptable words to describe the practice of eating out in general. There

[123] In recent years, Prishtina, the centre and its suburbs have undergone a rapid urban change. Property developers (*firmat e ndërtimit*) transformed the landscape of Prishtina, building new multi-storey building in almost all districts of Prishtina. Most of the buildings are residential buildings locally known as *banesa.*

is ‘no generic term for places to eat out’ (Warde & Martens, 2000: 62). Yet, according to Warde and Martens (2000) there is an “overarching model” or “cultural template” for both fast food eateries and other typical restaurants where meals are ordered, cooked and served within a certain time.

In this chapter I dwell on descriptions and analyses of the local understanding of *gjellëtore* and other fast food eateries, and examine the apparent meanings, patterns and choices of eating fast food in Prishtina. I also describe and discuss the practice of cooking and eating fast food in relation to ideas, practices and ideologies of village food and “our” food that have recently permeated the Kosovar foodscape. To highlight the current local dynamics of food I use the term “Kosovore”[124] to describe not only food dilemmas but also the tactics, strategies and common patterns of food production and consumption in a postwar context. The chapter will also provide an ethnographic description of ‘roots‘, ’routes‘ and ’routines’ of food cooked and eaten in local fast food eateries, by focusing on a phenomenological study of one *gjellëtore* in particular and observation of other fast food eateries in general. [125] In an attempt to describe the attitudes, ambivalences and multiple meanings embedded in the local experience of food and foodways, I use many quotes from my informants. I also describe many meanings that flow from direct experience (sensorial) with food and eating out experience in a more phenomenological (Tilley, 2004) and dialogical approach (Clifford, 1988) than it is practiced in ethnographies of restaurants (Beriss &Sutton, 2007). Contrary to Fine (1996), I view cooking (in the kitchen) and

[124] This term is used as a concept to connote the political, economic and gustemological strategies of producing, consuming and eating food in Kosova context. This concept is inspired by Michael Pollan’s (2006) term “omnivore dilemma” in his book with the same name.

[125] To map out the fast food and fast food eating in Prishtina, I visited and observed 25 *gjellëtore* (stewplaces), 15 *furra* (bakeries), eight *kantina* (canteens), 10 *burektore* (burek selling places), and five kebab shops. I interviewed and conversed with 40 owners and staff at those eateries. I also conducted 32 extensive interviews with their diners. The evidence gathered there supplemented my participant observation in one local *gjellëtore & qebaptore* where I spent 6 months of participant observation which included cooking, observing, and questioning the owners, the staff and the customers. In the course of participant observation I also visited the family vegetable garden which was used for *gjellëtore* food. See methodology section in chapter 2 for more details.

dining (in the dining room) as interconnected and co-constitutive of restaurant experiences. The cooking and eating dualism reduces diners as passive agents in the convivial creativity between owners, cooks, servers, eater and others (such as reviewers). The chapter ends by reflecting on recent politics of 'our' food in Kosova.

Gjellëtore food

Dili, Nazmie and Faik constantly referred to their *gjellëtore* food as "proper food" and "proper meals." In the *gjellëtore* context, over and over again, proper food was referred to as food that was cooked and served as it is done at home. 'Home food' was another term used for proper food. In conceptual terms, domestic cooking is valued as the ground base and any dishes cooked in *gjellëtore* are supposed to mirror domestic spoon dishes such *as pasul, gjyveç, gullash* and so on. The dichotomy between spoon dishes and grill dishes was central to defining what 'proper' food meant. This classification reproduces two sets of meanings. To have a spoon dish is fulfilling; it provides lasting energy, it triggers memories of home food, and it means you are eating something which has been boiled and therefore slowly and properly cooked, as a homely activity. Conversely, to have a grilled piece of meat means you are engaging in a "minor meal," since grilling is associated with fast food, snack and/or supplementary eating.

There are various meanings attributed to what is considered a proper meal. Meal definitions address two different meaning: meals-as-objects and meals-as-events (see Lalonde, 1992). For Douglas (1975) the meal is directly linked with social relations and according to her we can "decipher" the meal only as an arrangement that reproduces society. Lalonde (1992: 83), on the other hand, argues that the "meal does not refer to social relations, as Douglas suggests, but it is rather suffused by social relations, psychological dispositions and further informed by

various physiological facts." According to Lalonde (1992), an appropriate place to begin to examine the meal as lived experience is the physiology of taste.

Despite the fact that 'proper meal' means different things to different people, depending on class, gender, economic status, social activity and its structure as substance, it is commonly known that food acceptability and appropriateness are essential to food choice. According to Marshall (1992: 280): "Acceptability represents an individual's general disposition towards a particular food and is motivated, in part, by the anticipated pleasure derived from consumption of the food." Although, as other species, we have a natural disposition to food, and we learn to 'accept' food. Accordingly, our decision to use particular foods depends much more on our intentions that on the qualities of those foods. Thus, appropriateness is considered a crucial factor in the process of imbibing food. Marshall points out to several situational influences in food choice. For him, "food choice is undoubtedly influenced by where the food is consumed (physical surroundings), who is present (social surroundings), what the food occasion is for (the task) and the time when it takes place (time)" (1992: 281).

Although, meals are constituently debated in terms of objective and subjective structures, it is essential to note that in the process of eating any type of food in structured or unstructured mode, food has, as Barthes notes, "a constant tendency to transform itself into situation," (1979: 172). Although Barthes is right in saying that food has the capacity to signify situations, Marshall points out that "it is the situation which determines choice," (1992: 287).

Certain foods are associated with one gender rather than the other. 'Real men' eat meat, whereas vegetarians are much more likely to be females than males. Fides argues that meat is popular because it "is high in strength-giving proteins and simply because when is cooked it tastes good and is satisfying," (1991:1). In the Kosovar context, stews are considered to be meals

that feed the body and nourish the soul. All other meals are differentiated in relation to stews: the "real" meals. Often stews are gendered to connote maleness. This is portrayed as a view of a "real man" who eats stews, whereas women can pass the time nibbling and having anything else instead. Eating out in stewplaces is also associated strongly with male traditionalists who are defined as attaching "importance to the quantity of food and its filling aspect," and rejecting "novelty in food consumption and preparation," (Tivadar &Luthar, 2005: 220). In the Kosovar context, *gjellëtore* as stew places are understood to be places that substitute and compensate for home meals. Local informants described them mainly as gendered places where working class men eat quickly to regain their energy.[126]

One day in autumn of 2012, as I was conducting fieldwork in *gjellëtore Te Dili*, I read an article in the local newspaper reporting that 50 local workers from company called GPS Kosova were poisoned by food served in a local *gjellëtore* called *Te Nazi* in Prishtina's Dardania quarter. [127] As I was discussing the story with Dili, most of the staff and customers present joined in the conversation by telling their own food poisoning stories or similar stories heard from others. They told me many stories of how they were poisoned by food. The most common foods that caused the poisoning were those served in local fast food restaurants such as *qebapa, burek, salami,* sausages, burgers and stews. In fact, most of the informants had a food poisoning story which they linked to the fragility of the new state not being able to control borders and impose the rule of law. Food adulteration, misbranding and cheating are common concerns for Kosovars. They maintain that it is the responsibility of the government to protect them from

[126] Gender and sensorial dimensions are significant factors (often differentiating) in the restaurant hierarchy/categorization in postwar Kosova. As I discuss in chapter 5, *gjellëtore* are perceived as "stewplaces" that don't change and are not inclusive as modern eateries. The perception of *gjellëtore* as men-only eating places is constantly shifting, as is the whole gendered concept of restaurants and eating out .

[127] I read the report in one of the local newspapers. The article is summarized in this webzine: http://fishmedia.info/lajme/dyshohet-se-ushqimi-i-gjelletores-helmoi-50-punetore/ (accessed 20 October 2013)

hazardous foods entering Kosova by various illegal means and from corrupted businesses working in alliance with corrupt politicians. This is expressed as the main concern, and as I will discuss in later section the past years have been characterised by many food-related protests, campaigns and political tensions in Kosova.

The topography of restaurants is diverse and thriving with a choice of different food, drinks and service. During lunch hours it seems like the whole of Prishtina is eating out. Locals choose their nearby eateries and places, but they can walk or order take-aways. "It all depends on food", I was told. Nevertheless, I observed that there is more to food than meets the spoons.

Below I provide some of the answers my informants, provided when I asked them why they made a choice to eat in *gjellëtore Te Dili*:

> 'We have been working in this neighbourhood for years now. We have been eating here almost every day. We know what food and what taste to expect. We can't eat elsewhere as we are used to Dili's style of cooking and fresh ingredients from his own land' (Male, engineer, 46, from Prishtina)

> '*Gjellëtore* food is proper home food. We get a full plate. It tastes very good – sometimes better that my wife's cooking. I like it. There are other places but we usually come here because we are treated with respect' (Male, 52, electrician, from Peja, working in Prishtina)

> 'Well, there is nowhere else to have something with "spoons". Also, it serves *qebapa* and white meat. It has everything. To be honest, we don't feel as welcome in other places. It

is about feeling at home. And it is cheaper than those places where *kullera* (from English "cool man" - used as derogatory term for young people) stay all day. Café food is not for us. (Male, 43, electrician, from a village in Drenica region working in Prishtina)

'I sometimes like to eat *qebapa* and Dili makes them perfect. Otherwise I don't like *gjellëtore* food that much. Too fatty, crowded and it is always full of men only' (Female, 46, Interior Design Teacher, from Prishtina)

'I would never eat in *gjellëtore*. The food stays in those trays for days and it can poison you. It smells of *Vegeta* miles away and we have enough of that in our *banesa*' (Female, 22, student, Prishtina)

'We have developed trust and friendship with Dili. We know that we don't get stomach ache from this *gjellëtore*. Dili also puts an extra fried pepper or more salad than usual. I wish he had larger take-way boxes, as those are small' (Male, 32, banker, Prishtina)

As most of these quotes suggest, diners evoked various meanings of *gjellëtore* food according to their own experience, to *gjellëtore* reputation and position in the hierarchy of restaurant and as well as their social status. Foregrounding my informants' experiences of *gjellëtore*, I will further analyse some of the characteristics of *gjellëtore* and the way in which they evoke meanings and subjectivities for different diners.

Connecting to place

During one of the first conversations we had regarding food, business, employment and lifestyle or "living conditions" (*kushte*)[128], Dili referred to the social dynamics of life. This is understood to be the current flux of everyday activities in the process of coping, surviving and creativity as challenges and opportunities intrinsic to the state-building phase in Kosova. The challenges and opportunities of "life dynamics" in Kosova are locally discussed in terms of risk, time, morality, tradition and modernity. Often, locals perceive the state-building process in the context of both challenges and opportunities for them as individuals. Despite the fact that state-building in Kosova is collectively interpreted as national and international enterprise, sometimes "stuck in the mud" (Beha, 2012), the current dynamics of developing a market-oriented economy are locally expressed as a "shortcut" to development and capitalism. Capitalism and democracy are understood as a culture developed in a long process of tradition, freedom, education and civilization. "We have always been in transition," is a common local paradigm. In line with this philosophy, locals equally emphasise both adaptation and creativity offered by change and opportunity, and coping tactics and strategies to response to change and development.

As I have discussed earlier (chapters 1 and 3), restaurants and eating out places are constantly engaged in different creative ways to adapt to change. They are evident in food sourcing, cooking, serving and delivering process. In regard to sourcing food, I identified that most foods cooked in restaurants in Prishtina are bought in markets, supermarkets and local butchers. Sometimes restaurants use local food companies and local farms as suppliers. Nevertheless the so-called "food chain" that connects plate to field and the complex process of food origin, food

[128] "*Kushte*" cane be translated as "conditions". *Kushte* is used consistently to evoke the economic grounding social status of people. If someone has a furnished house (mainly), a car and a job, he has the *kushte*. *Kushte* is the condition of relational materiality that "makes" someone who he or she is. The popular saying "*e kan ba kushtet*" [The conditions made him] is an interesting local paradigm that responses to the arguments developed in the material culture studies.

safety and food adulteration characterises the current food and eating dilemmas in Kosova, which I will discuss later in this chapter. Here, however, I present the case of *gjellëtore Te Dili* as a specific example of connecting to place in restaurant (Barham et al, 2005).

After the war Dili and his family moved to Prishtina. Their house in the village was burnt during the war by Serb paramilitary forces engaged in brutal revenge (as NATO bombed Serbian Army positions in Kosova and Serbia) against Albanian civilians. When I visited the village in 2012, I discovered that most of the people have abandoned the village seeking better opportunities in Prishtina. One of the locals told me "*s'ka perspektivë*" (there is no future) in the village. *Perspektivë* is used commonly in Albanian to connote to the opening of the future horizon that allows the development of personality.[129] His argument was that it is expensive to cultivate the land if you are a small farmer and any produce sold would not be enough to even pay for the expenses. According to him, some of the obstacles to agricultural development, especially for small farmers, are associated with general market conditions, an inability to compete and a lack of collecting agro centres.

In their garden plot, Dili's father grow tomatoes, peppers, cucumbers and pumpkin. With the help of his family, mainly Dili's, he managed to work consistently and cultivate beans, corn, carrots and onions in another garden plot/lawn adjacent to it. They also built a small two-bedroom house they call *vikendica* (from English "weekend"). Their land area was defined by a wooden hedge and large apple and pear fruit trees. When I visited the garden, I felt he wanted me to witness the 'heart' of his *gjellëtore*, as he used to refer to. He said that this is essentially his 'father's love' which he is selling to his customers in Prishtina. He called his food the "most original, most natural" one can find in Prishtina. "This is real food from *katun*, not plastic from

[129] Clarissa de Waal (2005) notes that during the first years of postcommunist turbulence Albanians in Albania used to say consistently "*s'ka shtet' s'ka ligj*" (There is not state, there is no law) and "*s'ka perspektivë*" (no future) to describe the political, economic and social situation in Albanian.

kamion (lorry)." As we walked inside his vegetable garden, locally called *bashqe*, Dili's father was critical of the government policy in agriculture, local businessman and villagers themselves. According to him, the government subsidises farmers on several things in an attempt to promote agriculture and a "return to land". But, those are only "*bombona*" (sweets) or soothing pleasantries to get the vote. "The problem is that peasants are isolated in all ways: no good roads, no market, unfair competition from those corrupt and criminal businessmen who import from Serbia through northern Kosova….and we are lazy. Look at the villagers nowadays. They behave in their own land as if they were in picnic. I understand the fact that it is difficult to work all year and sell nothing. But I don't understand them when they buy milk or vegetables in local markets." Dili was ambivalent in his critical attitude to village dynamics. He expressed his concern through the metaphor of *senet nalt* (things on top) as determining factors in rural development. He also expressed the concern with "village mentality" and "passivity" sometimes spoiled by government subsidies, media culture, and remittances. For him, they were all "sweet shortcuts" to what he called "feeding the eye not the stomach."

Analysing gardens and their meaning in different sites, Tilley (2006: 329) shows that "our primordial relationship with gardens is through our sensing and sensed carnal bodies." . He notes that gardens may also be an objectification of love and care (Tilley, 2009). Caldwell also argues that through growing, sharing and gifting gardens, village and natural food, the ideas of community and identity are strengthened (2007, 2009). Knight (1998) provides evidence of village food is a way of personalising commodity transactions through the notion of *selling mother's love*. In the case of *gjellëtore Te Dili* village garden food is an objectification of *father's love*. Cooking and selling food grown by his father, Dili is distributing his father's "personal relationship" with his garden and gaining fame and reputation. In this process of

commodification of "father's love" and "family love," *gjellëtore Te Dili* creates value, fame and reputation (Munn, 1992; Weiner, 1992, Appadurai, 1996).

***Pasul,* taste and place**

My own observational survey of *gjellëtore* identified in the city reveals that most serve the same dishes with *pasul, gjyveç* and *gullash* ranking high on the table.

Pasul is one the most popular dishes in Kosova. When I was discussing my PhD topic with one of my friends in Prishtina, he said, "You should study *pasul*." Due to its rich nutritional value and accustomed taste, *pasul* is a regular stew in Kosovar homes. As Zeka (2006) suggests, Kosova common beans used in *pasul* are diverse. Although *pasul* is not described as a feast to all senses, locals cherish the dish as fulfilling, warm, tasty and rich. When I told them about navy beans cooked in tomato sauce and sugar, and served usually as a part of English breakfast they were surprised. In Kosova sugar is used only in sweets.

When you analyse the recipe and the cooking process, *pasul* come out as an easy dish to make. Firstly, onions are supposed to be chopped thinly. Then you add paprika to the fried onions, season and stir it until the onions take on a golden colour. This is added to boiling pot of beans cooked for around 30-45 minutes. You let the *pasul* cook for another 15 minutes, stirring occasionally. Meat is cooked separately and then added to *pasul*. Yet, making a good *pasul* is a very delicate process. The most difficult part is the 'burning of the oil'. Cooks told me that only sunflower oil is used for best *pasul*. They would never use olive oil or vegetable oil, as the taste would change. You have to use the right time to 'burn' the oil, fry the onions and 'burn' the paprika. However, 'to burn' means precisely the opposite – to ensure that none of the ingredients actually are burnt but softened enough to constitute the right taste. Faik told me: "Some

gjellëtore cooks in Prishtina, whose names I won't mention, use flour in pasul to thicken and enrich the taste so people eat less. This is disgusting. But they are in the centre and in the centre everything sells."

Studying Vietnamese cuisine, Nir Avieli (2012: 72) notes that Vietnamese kept the *cao lau* (a unique Vietnamese noddle dish) recipe secret even from daughters so that "when they get married they won't pass the secret to their new families." Making *pasul* and *gjellëtore* food is not a family secret because everybody makes *pasul*. Yet, the taste of food in *gjellëtore* depends on the style and experience of cooks and the type of ingredients used in cooking the dishes.

Fig.13.Serving *pasul* in *gjellëtore*

Fig.14. Eating in *gjellëtore*

Pasul is one of the main dishes in which Kosovars objectify their *katun* food habits. They spent considerable time and energy in finding the right *pasul* for their taste. When asked how they chose their *pasul*, most reveal that they buy *pasul* after they have tried it, either as a guest invited by relatives and friend, or in *gjellëtore*. Recently, local farmers have been directly contacting

people living in Prishtina, usually in the centre, and selling them *katun* crops and vegetables, including dairy products, for a price cheaper than in local supermarket and markets. I was also asked several times by local farmers to try their fresh *katun* products. *Prishtinali* feel like they are retrieving a relationship with nature when they buy *katun* food. However, many expressed concerns regarding 'food adulteration', saying "some peasants are not to be trusted." Local shops in Prishtina are also engaged in a direct relationship with local farmers, buying dairy products, fruits and vegetables from them.

Describing and analysing the aesthetics of cooking and food production in restaurant kitchens, Fine argues that "workers care about 'style' not only about technical quality," (1996: 178). According to his interpretation, the production of high quality items depends on the balance between culinary ideals and productions constraints. In the practice of cooking, cooks themselves form decisions about the sensorial components of food. However, taste is differentiated on the basis of collective judgement. Cooks in *gjellëtore* judge their food in terms of the taste and look. For example, both cooks at Te Dili made evaluations about *pasul* on the basis of its thickness, taste and colour. "If it looks like mashed stew, and if it has that yellowish colour, *pasul* is not good. That kind of *pasul* tastes like mashed potatoes." They discuss these judgements on what they believe is "good" and "works." Nazmie said: "Even our customers are used to our dishes and sometimes express that they prefer them to those cooked at their homes". Fine suggests that "cooking is grounded in negotiation and compromise," (1996:183). The cooks at *Te Dili* preferred the small white beans produced by Dili's father in the village, as they were used to their "softness" and "easy cooking." When the *katun* (village) beans run out, they used long white beans bought from a village in the Western region of Kosova. This was called "big seed" *pasul*, which does not taste the same as the *pasul* brought in from Llap region. The

recognition that they must serve "different pasul" was not welcomed by cooks as they felt that the taste of their *pasul* would change. This usually happened during late winter early spring as stock dwindled.

Anthropology of food and place is aware of the role that place, land and region plays in the construction of particular tastes and feelings about taste, which in France is known as *terroir*. As Trubek argues, "When the French take a bite of cheese or a sip of wine, they taste the earth," (2005: 260). The *terroir* is the taste and the sensation produced by the contact between the eater and the food from certain place, yet the *gout de terroir* is described by Trubek (2005) as fidelity to the taste of place. This kind of fidelity to the taste of place is certainly present in the case of pasul in *gjellëtore Te Dili*. The customers would know the difference between Llap beans and Dukagjini beans immediately. The latter were larger, longer and juicier. They also tasted "sweeter" than the beans from Llap region.[130] Yet, when I asked customers which *pasul* tastes better, some referred to Llap *pasul* some to Dukagjini *pasul*, particularly *pasul Istogu* (after the town called Istog in Dukagjini region known as bean under irrigation cultivation) as their preferred *pasul*.

Vegetaized **food**

Vegeta is a powdery condiment produced in Croatia by the firm Podravka. It is arresting for our nostrils and its smell can captivate our olfactory sense from a far distance. It contains monosodium glutamate (MSG) which is similar to Umami. MSG stimulates glutamine receptors to create the taste of meat. The glutamate sodium (MSG) does not have a taste on its own it

[130] A study on genotype and phenotype diversity of Common Bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris L.)* in Kosova, highlights the risk of losing bean diversity in Kosova due to lack of interest in agriculture. The study tested 75 accessions in 15 different regions of Kosova. See Zeka, D. (2006), *Inventory of phenotype diversity of landraces of common beans (Phaseolus vulgaris L.) in Kosova for a national gene bank*, MA thesis, Uppsala University, Sweden.

creates an arresting taste when it is mixed with meat and other food. Although there are fears of MSG being harmful to the body, it has not been shown that MSG has such effects (Fortin, 2009). It is claimed that *Vegeta*'s precise contents are a trade secret. The packaging lists salt as the primary ingredient with dehydrated vegetables and monosodium glutamate coming in second and third (Cvitanic, 2001).

Fig.15. *Vegeta* and *paprika* stacks in Prishtina supermarkets

Vegeta was invented during socialism by Croatian chemists. It immediately became a powerful culinary icon and a cult product that signified the achievements of the uniqueness of socialist Yugoslavia's self-management system. *Vegeta* became the new gastronomic and culinary sensation for Yugoslav urbanites and peasants. This seasoning "united" the peoples of

Yugoslavia around the so-called modern socialist cuisine. As discussed in chapter one, *Vegeta* became popular among all Yugoslav peoples, and its popularity reached globally. In socialist Kosova, locals remember that almost everything was cooked with *Vegeta*.

Vegeta's popularity has endured. It is common to find *Vegeta*, next to Maggi, in almost all countries in Europe and America, too. Although, postsocialist foodscapes have integrated various foods, food practices and foodways typical of Western capitalist societies, *Vegeta* is a reminder of socialist common taste and for many people it is still one of the preferred flavours. Almost every family I have visited in Prishtina and other towns in Kosova uses *Vegeta* in their kitchen. Podravka, the company that produces *Vegeta*, is currently one of the largest food companies advertising their products in Kosova. It also sponsors the most popular cooking show called "Diçka po zihet" (Something is boiling).[131]

The powerful smell and flavour of *Vegeta* is crucial in creating what Chau calls "social sensorium" or "sensory rich social spaces" (2008: 489). In my informants' views, Vegeta is sensorially understood as the taste of common home food, and it is most typically associated with taste and time. According to one of my informants, in the past, morning time was *Vegeta* time:

> Every morning, *Vegeta*'s smell woke me up and invited me downstairs to the kitchen table. It was so powerful. It was the smell of home… I don't use it as much, but my parents do. (Female, 33, college tutor, Prishtina)

Kosovars are fond of *Vegeta* and have been using it consistently in their cooking. As the quote suggests, the smell of *Vegeta* evokes the sensorial memory of home and home cooking. *Vegeta* is convenient, time saving and tasty. It signifies socialist success and uniformity. Socialist

[131] This is a cooking show airing on every Sunday afternoon in RT21 since 2006.

supermarket are remembered to store only *Vegeta* and paprika as seasoning to cook meat, soups or stews. Cooking without using *Vegeta* was an exception during those times. As the famous quote from Yugoslav cooking programme "Little Secret of Great Chefs" by Stevo Karapandža, suggested, "… and a spoonful of Vegeta" was used in almost everything people in Yugoslavia cooked.

Fig. 16. *Qebapa* served with salad, and bread

Fig.17. *Gjellëtore* trinity - *Vegeta*, paprika and salt

Most restaurants, self-declared traditional and modern, use *Vegeta* to cook their meat stews, noodle soups and several other slowly baked or grilled dishes. *Vegeta* is combined, rejected and negotiated in creating flavour and taste in the attempts to transcend the commonalities of home cooking in constructing and standardising culinary principles of new embracing-all cuisine in

Kosova. However, the use of olive oil, balsamic vinegar and various other sauces and seasonings creates a different smellscape in new restaurants, associated more with a so-called "European" cuisine. On the other hand, *gjellëtore/qebaptore* are commonly associated with excessive use of *Vegeta* and paprika. Faik puts it: "We *Vegetaize* everything!"

The olfactory sense became almost essential in the dichotomy between what locals called modern, innovative, European, and social restaurants, and common, Oriental, socialist, static and functional restaurants. Design, décor, service and other aspects of restaurant cosmology may also be influential to determine the gustemic and cultural status of restaurant. Notwithstanding, gustemic differences are evoked as essential factors in the choice of eating out in restaurants and as such they, on the one hand, reproduce and reinforce some of the gustemic identities and subjectivities, and on the other hand, negotiate and appropriate flavours, foods, tastes and restaurant practices in an attempt to forge their particular taste appeal. The sensorial experience acts as powerful means of mediating social relations in immediate and unspoken ways. It brings people together as much as it highlights their differences. Taste and smell, in particular, are emotional and psychological markers that influence the behaviour of people. The senses are an important factor for experiencing and making sense of social life

Local food as *katun* food

There are various concepts and theories about what constitutes 'local food'. Apart from geographical proximity, there are also other cultural and social features that can be recognised in the description of local foods (Martinez, 2010). As I have described above, Kosovars are becoming increasingly politically, culturally and systemically sensitive and sensible to the food they consume. Terms such as 'fresh', 'natural', 'our', 'katun', 'local' and 'bio' are extensively

used to describe food made, produced, bought, sold, cooked, served and eaten across the country. As eating out is a necessity or a choice depending on various factors, local eateries are using a range of strategies to capitalise on recent food sensibilities, ideologies and fears that are directly related to the origin, quality and taste of food. In Prishtina, this awareness is assumed to be much stronger and salient than in the rest of Kosova.

One of the main local food categories, is certainly village food, locally referred to as *katun* food.[132] The revived interest in village food is articulated mainly as a response towards food fears, adulteration and sensibilities as most of the food is imported to Kosova. Thus, there is a rising awareness of food and health, especially in the current age of risk (Beck, 1992) in a postsocialist society that is open to global flow of foods.

In crowded urban Prishtina, village life is often perceived as the ideal world where food is organically grown in soil uncontaminated by acidity, pollution, litter and sewage. The vegetables are grown and picked in the garden, the water is spring pure, and the air is fresh. The *katun* space or *katunopia*, as I want to call it, is the "other" idealised imagery of beautiful landscape, blossoming tress, stone houses, traditional crafts clothes, fresh and healthy fruits, vegetables and foods that come from 'mother nature'.[133]

Katun food (village food) is a large category. It incorporates dishes that characterised peasant diet, such as diary products, meat, vegetables, fruits, etc. In the local view, there are several general reasons for the endurance of village food in urban context. At the historical level, most families that migrated to local towns have retained land in their village of origin. Many families, especially those on the periphery, have consistently cultivated their land, almost

[132] I use the word in Albanian as it has become widely used even among the international community members living in Kosova.
[133] This is a common phrase used by many teachers educated in socialist times. My father commonly refers to nature as "mother nature" even when he is teaching first grade children.

in a similar manner as they had done while living in village. This is done through family networks hiring family members, paying, subsidising or doing urban favours for the village kin in order to maintain the reciprocity level of exchange. Food cultivated and produced in the village supplemented their urban diet. Most of the informants I interviewed maintained that they used village resources as a way of coping with small family budget in towns. One of my informants expressed that village connections were "lifesaving" for new migrants in town: "To have and work the land in the village mean that you could save a lot from your salary. We had only my salary as my wife was a housewife and children were at school. So, those who didn't have a village had many difficulties in putting food on table for their children."

Fig.18. Selling village products outside '*Pazar*' (market) door

Home gardens, locally known as *bashqe* were also common to many households in Prishtina, even in the centre districts. Prishtina residents are used to having their own *bashqe* where tomatoes, cucumbers, peppers, leek, potatoes, beans, carrots, pumpkin and other vegetables were cultivated. The common local saying is:"If you had your own *bashqe*, you had your own fresh food in the middle of Prishtina." However, such allotments were limited to households with large courtyards and the ability as well as necessity to produce their own food as a way of coping with an expensive urban lifestyle. Personally, I remember that as a family that had migrated to town, we were provided with food by our relatives from my parents' villages. Most of the food was distributed to our household as 'gifts from the village'. In exchange, villagers were able to come and stay in our home as an intermediary between village and city.

In contrast, the fruits bought in local supermarkets look fresh and nice but never have the smell and taste of the fruits bought from those who picked them in *katun*. Although, food is not evaluated as a nutritionist would do, locals make those value judgments based solely on smell, taste and idealised *katun* fruits. For example, village apples may look 'ugly' and sometimes 'misshaped'. However, they smell good and taste great. During my wife's first pregnancy, my father brought us apples he picked from his own garden. They were distinctly tastier than the apples we bought from local store supplied by the local fruit agribusiness. According to my father, current businessmen who have invested in fruit cultivation, use different types of 'fruit genes': usually Italian ones that grow small and produce a lot of fruit.[134]

After the 1999 war, Kosovar society has been transformed with the introduction of new forms of economic activity and cultural trends from abroad. The concept of market is no longer

[134] There is a growing concern among local fruits lovers about the disappearing local (autochthonous) fruit trees as a result of importing Italian fruit trees during the post-war period. In a conversation with an elderly man who grafted local fruit trees, I was told that most people are using cheap foreign imported trees. According to him, "All *katun* fruit trees are abandoned, destroyed and not grafted. People just don't bother anymore."

associated with the concept of '*pazar*' (market) where Kosovars could buy products from local farmers selling their fresh produce. "Everything is a market nowadays," is the common phrase heard from local people. Kosovars lament the loss of trust, value and morality. In case of foods, because postwar Kosova depended on imported and "conserved" food, they are presumed to be dangerous, adulterated and are considered less safe. Yet, due to economic crises, unemployment and political instability, such foods are the most convenient and affordable food for most of the Kosovar families. Village foods on the other hand, are familiar and unadulterated. They represent the healthiness and freshness associated with living in the countryside. They are also 'local' and 'safe' foods that nourish the body and soul. "In the past people lived longer and never visited a doctor, because they ate healthy and natural food. *Katun* food." This was the common answer from my informants when I asked them what is so special about 'natural food'.

The fact that Dili's family used to sell vegetables to city markets in the past as a coping strategy to supplement socialist wages, and the way in which such a practice has been revived recently in relation to the new business initiative, shows multifaceted activities taking place in everyday life in postsocialist countries. According to Stenning, "post-socialism exists in combination with… other social forms and is… partial and hybrid...postsocialism cannot be reduced to neoliberal economic restructuring, nor just to the legacies of socialism (and pre-socialism), nor indeed to the passage of 'transition'. It is all of these," (cited in Smith & Jehlicka, 2005: 7). Reflecting on post-soviet Russia, Southworth (2006) points out that the central controversy of market-oriented economy in a postsocialist context centres on the role of household agriculture. *Dachas*, or garden plots, are referred to as strategies for survival in times of food insecurity and economic turbulence as well as cultural and romantic ties to the land: the essence of Russianness is expressed in connection to nature through the personalised *dacha*

(Caldwell, 2009). Analysing the kitchen gardens and foodstuffs produced in garden plot to subsidise family food, Southworth claims that growing vegetable gardens has been a crucial element during socialism in most Eastern European countries including Yugoslavia.[135]

Leynse referred to 'situated eaters' in France who were 'well-informed consumers whose eating experience is anchored in a culturally specific locale and its associated identities via rich multi-sensory experiences,' (2006: 130). Through culturally and sensorially informed practice of searching for and eating *terroir* food, situated eaters ventured on 'journeys through ingestible topography,' (Leynse, 2006). Knight (1998) shows the importance of country food for urban Japanese bringing them the taste and smells that they associate with an idealised rural other. In Prishtina, growing vegetables in urban garden plots and seeking *katun* vegetables from local farmers are both subsistence and hobby. Many households have continued or started to grow their vegetable gardens in reaction to economic changes. However, households that built *katun* gardens to reflect their 'normal' and 'modern' status are becoming apparent in nearby suburbs and villages of Prishtina. Here I provide some quotes from local cooks:

> We use local products as well as imported products. Vegetables are from the local market, meat comes from local butchers. We don't know where they get it from but as long as it is OK, we buy it. We serve cheap food so it is difficult to source only local products. But let me tell you: we use tomato sauce made in Macedonia and it is much better than that made in Kosova. Local products sometimes are not good enough. If customers don't want them, then what can we do? (Female, 35, cook, Prishtina)

[135] Southworth used data from Federal Statistical Office of Yugoslavia Yugoslav Statistics from 1992, claiming that individual holdings in agriculture accounted for 53 percent of sales and purchases of agricultural goods (Southworth: 453). In the Kosovar context, the percentage might be much higher considering that during that time more than 60% population in Kosova lived in rural areas.

> People talk about local products, *katun* food and so on. But that is expensive. The state doesn't help farmers and doesn't care for local products. Only on TV. How can I use Sharri cheese in two-euro meals? A kilogram of Sharri cheese is at least 10 euros. A kilogram of imported Feta cheese is two euros. *Vetëvendosje* tell us to boycott foreign products, but do they know that if I boycott them I have to close my business? Those who have money pick and choose, the rest of us eat whatever is cheaper. That is imported, fast and mainly Serbian food. (Male, 31, bakery co-owner, Prishtina)

> We are lazy and we don't care. Otherwise, we can do many good things. We have land and we have resources. People only blame the state, but don't blame themselves. The other day I went to get fresh garden vegetables in my village and I saw my cousin's son sitting down and playing with his iPhone. Last year we offered him a job to work in my garden during summer. He turned it down. He is used to his brother in Germany sending him money. (Male 38, *gjellëtore* co-owner, Prishtina)

Despite the nutritional and cultural values placed on *katun* food, evidence suggests that most Kosovars find store-bought foods and commercial enterprises appealing. For urban Prishtina dwellers, sourcing *katun* food is much more difficult than going to the local store.

Roads as 'roots' and 'routes' of food

Kosovars trying to make something of themselves in their independent state in Europe and, out of Europe, see roads as objectifications of connection, development and accessibility. As a

country in the centre of the Balkan region, Kosova is locally perceived and experienced as a place in crossroads between East and West. They perceive their identity as constructed in the context of negation and dialectic between the two 'civilisations'. However, most of the recent century has been spent to objectify an identity that belongs and is rooted in Western ideals. Thus, roads and access to the wider world objectifies European 'roots' and 'routes' or 'roads to Europe'. In fact, one of the most common terms used in political discourse is the 'road to Europe' connoting Kosovar aspirations to integrate in the European Union, perceived as being a guarantee for the political and economic stability in the country and the region. The road to Europe provides the means to objectify aspirations to be in the common market, trade globally and connect with the wider world.

In the local folk culture, the meanings of roads is evoked in the two common metaphors: "to take the world in the eye" and "to taste the world." Roads provide the opportunity to see and experience the difference, both understood as ways of constructing identities. This is usually expressed by the term '*i dalun*' (one who has been abroad, one who has learned ways of the contemporary world) which in the local context could be interpreted to mean "a person who has taken the world in the eye and has tasted some of it". In themselves, roads as concepts and roads as materialities evoke different states of mind, social identities, attitudes and myths (Dalakoglou, 2008).

Food travelling from place to place across the globe is associated with carbon emission, spending energy and bad food. Food miles has emerged, especially in the US, as a discursive framework with the aim of supporting local agricultural produce. Similarly, other concepts such as locavorism have emerged as arguments maintaining that "because it is harmful to the environment to transport food over long distances (referred to as ―food miles) people should

instead, for primarily environmental reasons, choose to consume only food which is grown or slaughtered ―locally," (Stănescu, 2010:9)[136] The story of locavorism relates to the principles of an American movement that started in 70s called "Buy American" and lasted until 90s. In attempt to protect the local "American" way of life, the movement became a manifestation of nationalism that soon enough was reported to be not protecting traditional "American" ways of life or American goods but a small club (Frank, 1999).

Roads are understood as the primary means, and the essential to local agriculture development. In Kosova, roads are perceived as "routes" to the "roots" of food. As locals say, you cannot cultivate land and produce good healthy and fresh *katun* food without having roads to get there. The development of road networks is perceived as the strong connection between local *katun* food and restaurants and eateries in Prishtina. Locals are using familial networks to provide fresh produce to restaurants, local supermarkets, local groceries, and local markets. This food provision network operates in different ways. If peasants have familial connections or acquaintances in restaurants, they engage in agreement to provide certain products, mainly vegetables, but also *raki* and fruits. Several restaurants in Prishtina are supplied with *raki shpie* made somewhere in local villages and directly brought to the restaurant. As academic staff, several of us from Faculty of Philosophy used to go to café "Lounge" opposite the University of Prishtina, mostly because they served *raki shpie* (homemade *raki*) brought by a *raki* maker from Sharr region.

Roads are perceived as being essential to the freshness of food provided in restaurants. One of the fruit supplier for a local restaurant, told me that he takes the bus from his village and comes to Prishtina everyday to sell his food produce, eggs, salads, fruits, vegetables and chicken.

[136] Stănescu, however, argues that locavorism as promoted in Michael Pollan's book *The Omnivore Dilemma* (2006) is engaged in mythmaking or as he calls it "a literary pastoral" which falsely romanticises the ideals of local-based life.

Most of his produce is sold in the market but he recently made the agreement to bring fresh seasonal fruit to the restaurant that is using them for cakes and pies.

The local meaning of 'fast food'

As soon as we mention the word 'fast food' most of us think of hamburgers, pizzas, kebabs and other snacks and meals sold in restaurants, eateries, take-away shops and other similar places. Schlosser (2001) argues that that the experience of buying fast food has now become routine. According to him, "Americans now spend more money on fast food than on higher education, personal computers, computer software or new cars," (2001:3). Although, fast food is stereotypically linked to McDonald's and Big Macs (Oakes, 2004), research suggests that fast food is and has always been common and present in our eating patterns (Alcock, 2006) Yet, research shows that fast food is not absent in France where '*patrimoine culinaire'* is something French take pride on (Fantasia, 1995), nor in China and Japan (Yan, 2005; Traphagan & Brown, 2002). The empirical literature on fast food has expanded considerable in the last decades, reflecting on socioeconomic and cultural implications (see Matejowsky, 2006)

In Kosova, eating out culture is perceived to be a new postwar phenomenon of embracing new foods in great variety of restaurants, bars and cafés. Due to new political, social and economic changes that characterised the postwar period, eating out is ultimately associated with the effect those changes have in society. Eating out culture is presented as an 'emerging culture' reflecting the dynamics of development and Europeanisation. However, in my research I have been able to identify two strands of popular opinion on 'eating out culture'. The first opinion views this emerging culture as a dynamic that proves that Kosovars embracing pluralism of taste and diet reflecting, in turn, on the pathway Kosovar society is taking in their democratic

development. The second one points out that Kosovars are mimicking the culinary diversity of Europe since they lack their own cuisine and inventiveness. Accordingly, the latter one reflects a 'shortcut' to diversity and democratic development. The situation, however, seems to be more complex than that.

Fig.19. Kosovar versions of 'McDonald's

Probing into further research you find out that what is considered in the context of local understanding what is considered a fast food is not an entirely new phenomenon. Locals often argue that it has a long history and continues in new and old forms to shape the local eating behaviour. The local rural concept of "*bukë n'dore*" (bread in hand) is typical expression of bread cooked without yeast and served for those in hurry. The type of bread called locally *buka nore* derives from this practice. It is also known that shepherds used to take large pieces of bread with fillings inside (usually whey and peppers or eggs) while looking after their cattle. This type of "take away" food was prepared quickly and usually with prepared ingredients and fillings.

The concept of *sillë* (snack before lunch) is also associated with the farming and agriculture past in Kosova (Stublla, 2007). It comes from the word "*sjell*" (to bring) which connotes the delivery of the food to the place peasants worked.

In the urban context, fast food was mainly associated with eating the prepared *burektore*, *qebaptore* and *gjellëtore* food. In the 1950s onwards, during the socialist modernisation and urbanisation process, various eateries appeared in the urban context. As discussed in chapter one, some of those eateries have appropriated various ideas, practices, foods, and technologies in the context of domesticating wider urban 'eating out culture' in the Balkans.

In Kosova, the English term 'fast food' is adopted in Albanian as '*festfud*'. Nevertheless, this term is common only among the young and educated in Prishtina. Many local eateries serving kebab, pizza, burgers, and so on, have '*fast food restorant'* underneath their name.[137] Almost all informants I interviewed, even those who had not heard the English term before, were unanimous on defining 'fast food' as burgers, pizza and *qebapa*. Those who understood the concept or experienced it abroad associated it mainly with McDonald's, Burger Kings, Kebab shops, and junk food. Therefore, the local meaning of fast food is rooted in both local eating out culture and the new arrival of *festfuda* in postwar period. As I described in chapter one, eating out was synonymous with eating in *gjellëtore/qebaptore* which was always described as "eating fast," due to the fact that eating out was understood mainly as functional activity. Thus, in local terms the meaning of eating out and fast food may overlap. However, Kosovar restauranteurs appropriate various culinary forms in the process of embracing new foods, food habits and eating practices attempting to partake in what is critically associated with "menace Americanisation" and 'alimentary cosmopolitanism' (Fischler in Fantasia, 1995: 202). In this process, the American concept of fast food is currently being re-articulated, re-configured and negotiated in

[137] Although 'fast food' is pronounced 'fest fud' in Albanian, in most written forms it appears in English.

local practice to reshape the local fast food practice associated with *qebaptore/gjellëtore* food. In this process of appropriation, fast food has emerged as an overall model for eateries, canteens, and restaurants serving traditional local food (prepared food).

Despite the fact that transnational restaurants such as McDonald's, KFC and the like are not present in Kosova's landscape, there are many new local fast food outlets that use, imitate and appropriate different fast-food cooking techniques. This is witnessed mainly with the introduction of 'Kolonat' type of outlets copying the 'gastronomic techniques' of McDonald's and fast food *kantina* (canteens) inside shopping malls, supermarket, petrol stations and in various other places selling various types of prepared foods. They negotiate between different realities, practices and ideas offered by global flows and local dynamics and find creative ways of introducing new eating out patterns in Kosova.

In the beginning of this chapter, I described the practices of cooking and serving prepared and fast food in the typical local eatery. Here I turn to a more general analysis of meanings, practices, reasons and choices of fast food in the context of eating out culture in Prishtina. In light of my evidence, I try to show that local imitations of fast food eating logic, as practices in the Western cities, are shaping the existing practices of eating out immensely. This is seemingly the case of urban gastronomic and culinary strive to offer new foods and service to compete in the internal "culinary diversity" emerging in Prishtina.

Firstly, I want to provide a range of answers given in the extended interviews conducted with fast food owners and their understanding of fast food:

> Fast food is food eaten fast, in your hands, whilst walking, like in America. This is a new trend in Kosova, too. We aim to do that here. People don't have time like before. It is modern life, now. Life is dynamic. (Male, 45, kebab shop owner, Prishtina)

> We have always eaten fast food. We just didn't call it that way. We have had *burektore* and *gjellëtore* for centuries and they are all fast food. We have always been fast-food eater in this sense. *Qebaptore* are like MacDonald's but we have no money to invest in all the good design, otherwise we are the same. We have MacQebap. (Female, 22, server, Prishtina).

> Fast food is not just about eating fast. It is also about cooking fast and serving fast. This is the best way of eating in modern life. No time now… no time for waiting 1 hour until your food is cooked. People have to work, my friend. (Male, 50, *Gjellëtore* owner, Prishtina)

> You have fast-food restaurant right in front of anywhere in European countries. Bakeries, hot-dog corners, MacDonald's, KFC's, Chinese, Turkish, Pizza, and everything else. All types of places and foods. Here is becoming the same. We are going to Europe. But we have some of our own stuff, too. (Male, 46, waiter, Prishtina)

Although, opinions vary, many Kosovars consider fast food as an American and European culture that signifies a local understanding of how the process of modernisation works. From the entrepreneurial point of view, *festfud* owners were keen to link their business to modernity and

culture proximity with the West, or as practiced abroad. When I asked them to tell me what they consider as unique and different in their restaurant most contended that they serve fast food as in America and Europe. On the other hand, *gjellëtore* and *qebaptore* owners were keen to maintain that they saw themselves as being essentially bearers of urban tradition in Kosova. However, I came to understand that this was almost entirely their rhetoric used as common and socially acceptable way of responding to such questions. When I probed further, they confessed that they would consider changing their menus, ambiance and service if they were able to or their business was at risk. I want to illustrate this with the example of *gjellëtore Te Nazi* in centre of Prishtina, near the University of Prishtina. Until summer 2013, this *gjellëtore* served only the usual *gjellëtore* foods such as stews, burgers and grilled meat. There was not *gjellëtore* nearby, making it a centre of stew lovers in the area. Also, many students who came from various regions of Kosova and were not able to cook at their university halls, went there to have their favourite stews. In 2013, a new *festfud* restaurant, called *Viva food* opened nearby, serving not just sandwiches and burgers but also a wide range of stews, soups, pastas and lasagnes. They started serving donner kebabs, pizza and even local fish and chips. Most servers were female and wore a uniform. The restaurant is designed and decorate to reflect a modern setting. The food is properly named, prices are shown and menus are slick. Tables and chairs are comfortable and the dining area is spacious and spans across two storeys, with free Wi-Fi, newspapers, magazines and photographs reflecting the current trends in pop culture. The stews served there are also similarly priced and sometimes cheaper than the stews in *gjellëtore*. You could have almost everything served in all types of eateries in Prishtina, within one place. This *festfud* canteen type of restaurant followed the all-in-one restaurant philosophy. As such, it presented a risk to the *Te Nazi* gjellëtore.

As I lived nearby, I managed to observe the transformation of *Te Nazi gjellëtore* as a response to their neighbour. The place was redesigned and refurbished to accommodate new changes in display, cooking, serving and eating functions and aesthetics. Kebabs, pizzas and new salads were introduced as a part of the transformation. Stews, however, remained the same. Neither the owners, nor the managers affirmed that they were threatened by the success of the neighbouring eatery. One of the managers, who was also a head server, said that they wanted to change to include more food choices for their customers. Most customers on the other hand, who were accustomed to eating *pasul* (something which the new *kantina* doesn't offer due to smell) were delighted to see the changes as "keeping pace with modernity." Before refurbishment, women worked only in the kitchen and were rarely seen coming from the cellar to bring pots of stews to the food counter. Now there are three female members of staff serving at the food counter.

The appropriation of fast food culture

To my questions of what they understood by '*fast food restorant'*, restauranteurs replied positively stating that they saw such eating venues as modern restaurants associated with USA and Europe gastronomic culture. For example, my informants repeatedly replied that McDonald's was viewed as a sign of development and American culture. The fact that there is no McDonald's franchise in the country is perceived and understood as underdevelopment and inability to attract this sign of global phenomenon. In most local people's views, McDonald's is an icon of connecting with American and global culture. To put this in Watson's (1997) terms, the 'golden arches' are idealised as 'arches' that connect the 'newborn' to global culture. This is mainly the view expressed by young local people who have either travelled abroad, seen on TV

or want to taste different types of food. Since 2008, there has been a public rumour of McDonald's opening in Prishtina, encouraging much discussion about 'pros' and 'cons' of such a phenomenon and the politics of franchise. Getting the franchise from McDonald's is regarded as one of the highest successes in local franchising and business enterprise. "McDonald's doesn't come to such a country as ours. We are far away from it," was one of the main expressions in response to McDonald's matter. Being far from MacDonald's was perceived as being far from modern development, witnessed in the neighbouring countries such as Macedonia and Serbia. In autumn 2010 one of my ethnology students at University of Prishtina, said to me: "They have McDonald's. They are ahead of us." Many people confessed to me that they used to go to Skopje in Macedonia to eat in MacDonald's.[138] This was described as an experience of taste and symbolism. Americans working and visiting Kosova told me that they were surprised to hear local Kosovars openly inviting McDonald's to Kosova. "It seems that people are so open to American culture. They love Americans and all things American here. It is strange in a sense, but I guess this is a result of us helping you win the war, right?" said one of my interviewees, Tracey from Illinois, who had come to visit her husband in Prishtina.

[138] MacDonald's in Macedonia opened in 1997 and operated until 2013. The first McDonald's in Eastern European Communist Bloc opened in Belgrade, Serbia in 1988. There were many rumors that McDonald's are interested in opening a franchise in Prishtina, but that hasn't happened yet. Most people I asked about McDonald's supported the idea of having the MacDonald's restaurant in Prishtina. Some, however, were highly critical of the idea. There are many "local adaptations" of MacDonald's imagery in Prishtina. Recently, the most well-known one called "Kolonat" was closed down for reasons I wasn't able to identify.

Fig. 20. *Kolonat* billboard in Prishtina.

Fig. 21. The fireman advert *Route 66* @

The lack of transnational fast food chains is replaced with imitation and appropriation of their food, imagery, and general service. Some of the local fast food places that imitate global brands, especially American brands to the letter. One of those examples is *Route 66* in Prishtina, right next to the Newborn obelisk. This fast food diner opened in 2003 in Lakrishte district, a short distance to Bill Clinton Boulevard, and then moved to the centre. The food, the décor and the ambiance is similar to commonly known "Route 66" diners in America. They proudly declare that they were the first restaurant to introduce American food in Kosova. One of the waiters said to me: "Before *Route 66* there was no cheeseburgers, nachos, fajitas, tortilla, chicken burger and many other things. We inspired many people in Prishtina and throughout Kosova. They started to refurbish their own places and offer new foods and so on. We are pioneers in bringing the American culture to Kosova." In fact, many restaurants, cafés and bars in Prishtina, had a ripple effect in the foodscape in the city. One after one almost all bars and cafés have refurbished, reopened, rebranded, closed and sold, during last decade due to increasingly changing food, style, ambiance, social and gustemic demand in the city.

The desire to taste different food, or innovative foods prepared, cooked and served in local fast-food and quick service restaurants is expressed and experienced extensively as a symbolic act. Analysing fast food experience in France in the context of ritual experience, Fantasia argues that, "for the French, the ritual behaviour in a fast food outlet is relatively new, representing a departure from the formalized rituals governing traditional French cuisine," (1995: 221). According to Fantasia, the 'American' fast food restaurants, such as McDonald's, in France are treated as different places, regardless of the fact that the French are accustomed to a certain type of local 'fast food' eating associated with *bistro*. In Kosovar context, the imitation of 'American' food and 'fast food' restaurants can be interpreted as an attempt to embrace the American culture and Americanisation as a way of 'looking up to' America.

Although, *gjellëtore, qebaptore and burektore* existed as local fast food eateries, local fast food restaurant appropriated the culinary and gastronomic ethos and techniques of global fast food restaurant in attempts to forge new meaning, patterns and choices of eating out and take away that were characterised as modern, Western and new. The international presence and diaspora tourism were projected as essential agents in the success of such new ventures. The influence of diaspora is crucial in the practice of mimicking and appropriating the everyday life in American and European cities. Through family networks, diaspora influence the way locals invest, design and decorate their restaurants. In fact, more than 60% of the fast food restaurant owners told me that they were either partially or fully remitted by their family members abroad in opening a restaurant. As I discussed in chapter three, diaspora returnees and diaspora visitor are both crucial agents of gastronomic changes and development in Kosova.

How do diners understand fast food?

Below, I turn to present and analyse some of the results from my interviews and conversations with diners in the context of meanings, patterns and choices of food and eating out fast food. As I discussed above, there is a considerable ambiguity about what is fast food. Herewith, I present the answers, aggregated in tables, to questions I asked diners in various eateries regarding fast food and eating out experience.

Food	Yes	No/Didn't mention	Only when eaten out
Burek	18	2	10
Qebapa	26	4	2
Pasul	5	20	7
Hamburgers	24	4	4
Pizza	6	20	6
Mantia (samosa like pastries)	4	22	6
Kebap	28	4	0
Hot dog	30	2	0
Sandwich	22	6	4

Table 1."*What do you consider as fast food?"* aggregated responses from 32 extensive interviews

Restaurant type	Yes	No/Didn't mention	Difficult to say
Gjellëtore	15	5	12
Qebaptore	26	4	2
Cafés/ Bistros	6	26	0
Supermarket Canteens	18	8	6
Burektore	30	2	0
Kebab shops	24	8	0
Pizzerias	6	18	8
Bakeries (mainly "Furra Lumi")	18	4	10
Restoran (including taverna)	4	26	2
Festfud restoran	30	2	0

Table 2. "*What do you consider as fast food restaurant/eatery in Kosova?"* aggregated responses from 32 interviews

As presented in table 1, most of the interviewees (90% +) declared hot dog as being fast food and more than 80% described *qebapa* as fast food. Interestingly, a small number of diners referred to *pasul, burek* and *mantia* as fast food mainly when eaten in fast food eateries. Such dishes are associated with "home" food and thus are not understood as "fast food" that is associated either with hamburgers and hot dogs or *qebapa*. This is reflected also in informants' responses when asked to give further explanation. Demir, one of the regular customers in one of the *gjellëtore* explained it in this way:

> Most of the food served in fast food eateries you asked me about, are also eaten at home. I know, for example, that *pasul* is served here immediately from the large pot. This doesn't mean that it is cooked quickly. At home *pasul* take sometimes 3 hours to cook, depending where you bought it and who you buy it from. It must be the same here. But some things like *mantia, lakror, leqenik* and so on, which are home dishes, are served nowadays like hamburgers. Look at 'Furra Lumi' and you have them all there. (Male, 46, electrician, Prishtina)

The first aspects of a common understanding of fast food concerns place and time taken to prepare and cook. Foods that can be cooked at home are not featured high in the table as being fast food. Pizza is an exception: more than 60% of informants did not describe it as fast food. When I asked informants why they didn't consider pizza to be fast food, they responded saying that pizza is cooked slowly in the oven and it is also 'made' from scratch, not made quickly in 2-3 minutes in the grill or scooped from the 'stew pot'. The recent postwar introduction of kebab shops in Prishtina is described as being the reason why kebab shops rank high in the 'fast food

eateries'. I discussed those tables with some informants who saw kebabs as new fast food that did not exist before the war. Among most informants the assumption was that ‘kebab’ influence comes from the East whereas the ‘hot dog’ from the West (America). Such dichotomies were constant in viewing food influences from abroad.

The second aspect of the meaning of fast food was that it was cheap and affordable. Most informants described fast food as being cheap food sold in large quantities to those who cannot afford to eat in ‘proper restaurants’. “If I have food in restaurants every day, my wages will disappear in less than two weeks,” explained Hasan, a cleaner in the University of Prishtina, who often eats *burek* for his lunch, costing him only 70 cents. He occasionally orders a yoghurt and mixes it with water to ensure he has enough to water down the greasy *burek*. Thirdly, fast food is also associated with take away food. It is common to order food to be delivered to office by local eateries, or to be purchased and taken out to be consumed within different, usually work-based, environments. The fourth aspects of meaning of fast food was that it was junk and unhealthy with occasional claim that it was dangerous. This is a stereotypical view of *qebaptore* and *gjellëtore*, because they sell meat. Although, *burek* is understood as unhealthy pastry, locals were more sensitive about meat dishes and places associated with them. This is mainly to do with the origin of cheap meat imported to Kosova. One of the “qebapa haters” is also my sister, Shpresa Canolli, who works as postgraduate secretary at the Faculty of Math and Natural Sciences in the University of Prishtina. She was poisoned by *qebapa* several years ago and was taken half-consciously to hospital. According to her, the local doctors claimed that they treat such cases often since local eateries are not properly controlled to ensure that the food is safe and their environment clean.

As the table 2 above shows, 30% of the informants understood *gjellëtore* to be fast food restaurant. Less than 30% of them responded saying that it was difficult to define *gjellëtore* as fast food restaurants, due to the fact that they are associated with "home cooking" and home food is not considered fast food. Similarly, most informants regarded supermarket canteens as fast food outlets, in the same way they regarded bakeries. However, when bakeries were mentioned as potential fast food restaurants, most informants were pointing out to one special bakery known as "Furra Lumi", and other common bakeries that sell only bread. This is argued to be mainly due to the fact that bakery "Furra Lumi" was the prototype of bakeries serving 'home' pastries including *fli* (one of the most lavish forms of hospitality a Kosovar family can offer you)[139] in fast food ethos, including take away and delivery. This bakery was the first one to serve pastries that were traditionally made at home. More than 30% of informants, however, were ambivalent in classifying bakeries as fast food. This ambiguity depended on their understanding, perception and culinary habitus. I noticed that the common dichotomy between "home" food and "fast food" was centred upon the difference between grilled food or *skara* food served in *qebaptore* and various other *festfuda* places imitating Western fast food restaurants and other foods such as stews served in gjellëtore. Yet, the current change in culinary practice and service of food is forging new understandings of food and eating out.

The common reasons, patterns and choices of eating in fast food restaurants

The sociality of common eateries that are considered as "side dish kitchens" rests on the culinary habitus of customers (Yano, 2007: 56). Many *gjellëtore* diners explain the close association between *gjellëtore* and a sense of home. They talk about *gjellëtore* food as separate food from other establishment. When they have to decide what to have for lunch they choose between

[139] Gowning, E. (2011) *Travels in Blood and Honey: becoming a beekeeper in Kosovo*, Oxford: Signal Books, p.24

gjellëtore food and other fast food establishment. They also chose among *gjellëtore*. Discussing the Japanese *okazuya* food in Hawaii, Yano argues that the "competition for *okazuya* is not with other *okazuya*; rather it is with other genres of food," (2007: 56). She goes on to argue that it is the longstanding relationship between owners and customers that forms the choice of dining in *okazuya* more than anything else. In Prishtina, the relationship between the owner/cooks/servers and the customers was much more intimate in *gjellëtore* based in small neighbourhoods than in the centre, where people come and go all the time. As I described above *Te Dili* customers choose to eat there for several reasons. The main reasons is that *gjellëtore* serve what is considered proper food, contrary to other fast food places that serve sandwiches, burgers, nachos and other "little things." As such *gjellëtore* food "mirrors" home food and as "homes extended to streets" they reproduce the home culinary habitus. Nevertheless, when customers had to choose between *gjellëtore* they chose one *gjellëtore* against the other due to several other reasons. Those are trust, quality of food, style of cooking and taste, customer-owner relationships rooted in the traditional moral economy.

Trust in the quality of food was essential to build the regular clientele at *gjellëtore Te Dili*. This is described not just by regular workers nearby who come to eat proper meals, but also from other customers who were able to eat or order *gjellëtore* food from elsewhere. One local bank cashier told me: "In terms of *gjellëtore* food, you really ought to know the *gjellëtore* you get food from, otherwise you never know what you get." Secondly, the quality of food and taste were essential, too. Regular customers got accustomed to the taste of food served in gjellëtore Te Dili. The fact that food was from his own village garden was experienced in taste as well as symbolically as distinct and healthy *gjellëtore* taste, different from common *gjellëtore* elsewhere. Another important reason that customers chose *gjellëtore* that it represented 'home

cooking'. Food, cooking, serving and the whole *gjellëtore* status is an objectification of family care, labour and love of food. In cooking food for their customers, Dili and his family wanted to build their name in the community as family *gjellëtore*. The use of food from their village, employment of family members, proximity of *gjellëtore* to their household, the intention to show success as a diaspora returnee, were essential characteristic that made this *gjellëtore* an extension of home.

In their comparative study of food choices in Britain, Caplan & al (1998) argue that class, ethnicity and tradition played a considerable role in the food choice. Those with low-income had a "restricted choice" (1998: 178) and income was significant to choice when above minimum. Alison James also argues that food nostalgia and creolisation were essential movements in the1990s, when chefs started to incorporate an amalgam of tastes. However, she acknowledges that "eating curry as a new sauce for chips and pot noodles as an alternative to a sandwich does not mean that the British are embracing culinary diversity; it is simply old food habits in a new form," (1997: 84). For Belasco, "food choices are the result of a complex negotiation among three competing considerations: the consumer's identity (social and personal), matters of convenience (price, skill, availability) and a sense of responsibility (an awareness of the consequence of what we eat)," (2008: ix). According to Belasco (2008), fast food marketing usually follows the formula that may characterised as "Eight Fs": Family, fast, fried, filling, "fresh", fantasy, Fordist, and franchised.

In the context of eating out in Kosova, fast food adventure is argued to be a result of low income and fast food restaurants serve cheap food to those with "restricted choice" due to low-income. Yet, the popularity of burgers, sandwiches served with piri-piri sauce, chicken curry,

chips, nachos, small dishes at fast food restaurants and diners, shows that new tastes have found their way into the Kosovar popular taste.

There are various other patterns of eating out in so-called fast food restaurants. The patterns of who goes where are generally complex. The role of income, familiarity, taste, and customer/owner relationship is significant in some *gjellëtore* but not all of them. Warde and Martens argue that patterns of eating out indicate "financial, social, practical and cultural forces, systematically distributed across the population, which constrain or encourage people to engage in particular ways of eating out," (2000: 69).

International presence, the growth of population, diaspora investment and tourism are brought up repeatedly in conversation. They are seen as the reason for the culinary diversity emerging in Kosova. One cook said to me: "Although we are poor and *pa perspektivë* (without future perspective) we are trying new things. Why not? We need to go to Europe. Everywhere in Europe, you have such things from all over the world. You have to know your tradition but you have to also know global traditions, when they are good." As I discussed in chapter three, this is the most common observation in regard to global influences, local traditional and the negotiation process in performing culture and traditionality. The concept of a "road to Europe" is continuously brought up to reflect on the larger political discourse on European integration.

Food movements and ideologies

Like many counterparts in Europe and America, Kosovar consumers are also concerned with food cultivation, land use, food safety and nutritional qualities of food. Some of the ideologies of food movements such as *Slow Food*, *Food Democracy* and *Locavorism* (Petrini 2001, 2007; Parkins & Craig 2006; Pollan 2006; Kingsolver, 2007) resonate with local Kosovar campaigns

turned into movements such as 'Love your own' products and 'Buy Albanian'. They also resonate with local practices of gardening, village food consumption, foraging and informal food exchanging in kindred and friendship relations. The Kosovar food movement and ideologies can be argued to have some similarities to those movement. Yet, local Kosovar movements and global movements such as *Slow Food* diverge in several aspects. One of the crucial factors that drives these movement is gastronationalism (DeSoucey, 2010; Myncite, 2011). Both 'Love your own' and 'Buy Albanian' encourage Albanian consumers to buy products produced only by Albanian firms, in Kosova, Albanian and other Balkan countries where Albanians live, in attempt to help strengthen the pan Albanian market. This is similar to what Melissa Caldwell (2007) argues to be the case in Russian with strong division between 'Nash' (our) food and 'foreign' food and nationalist campaigns such as 'Buy Russian'.

Some of the objectives of the movements such as Slow Food, which promote regressive visions of economic development are at odds with the Kosovar vision of natural food. In Kosova, having a garden in the city, cultivating village land, consuming *katun* food, are also seen as a coping strategy, which rural migrants had to undertake under socialist 'transition' process, deemed as modernisation and standardisation. The idea of natural food is connected precisely to the modernisation of agriculture. This is perceived an advantage of market capitalism and the temptation is to blame all matters concerning bad food, illegal food, junk food and imported on the 'stagnation' in the process of agriculture development. Kosovars are quick to blame this on several factors such as government failure, crime and corruption, illegal Serbian food importing through northern border, Albanian laziness, market competence, etc.[140]

[140] As most countries in the world Kosova produces more than half of the food it needs for daily consumption. It is estimated that agriculture accounts for over 20%of Kosovo's GDP, employing around 42 percent of total population. Agricultural lands occupy 53% of Kosovo's total area of 1.1 million ha. Out of 585,000 ha of arable land, 51 percent is dedicated to grains, 45 percent to pastures and meadows, 2 percent to orchards, and less than 1% to vineyards.

The politics of 'local products'

"*Prodhime vendore*" is the local term for local products. Its meaning is evoked explicitly in the postwar local strategies and intentions of Kosovar politicians, executives, international agencies and local campaigners to promote products made in Kosova. Although the term applied to all goods produced in the country, it usually refers to food products. The semantic meaning of 'local products' as mainly 'food products' is constructed by the general state of postwar Kosova economy. The economic development in Kosova gravitates around post-war reconstruction and statebuilding. International agencies, the government and other funders have increasingly sought to revitalise Kosova agriculture since more than 60% of Kosova inhabitants are supposed to live in rural areas. The private sector has been largely small-scale and the privatisation process is deemed controversial and corrupted.

Fig.22. 'Duaje tënden' sticker on Kosovar 'Vita milk'@duaje.com

Approximately 87% of agricultural land is in private hands; the remainder is administered by the Kosovo Trust Agency (KTA)These figures are extracted from World Bank Kosovo Report (2007) "Integrating Environment into Agriculture and Forestry: Progress and Prospects in Eastern Europe and Central Asia", p. 3. last accessed 12 February 2011 (http://www.worldbank.org/eca/pubs/envint/Volume%20II/English/Review%20KOS-final.pdf)

Local products became increasingly promoted due to the economic capital and support invested in them. Nevertheless, the first idea of local food products came from the Kosova president, Ibrahim Rugova, who immediately after the war announced the cultivation of 'traditional products' such as crops and jams, such as *reçel, pestil, ajvar, turshi* and so on.

Rugova's intervention was the first promotion of food products in Kosova, a public and political pathway to promoting 'local products' without calling for any boycotting or 'refusal' of 'non-Kosovar' products. Nevertheless, as Kosova became independent in 2008, local products became an exploited subject of politics. In summer 2011, as I was conducting fieldwork, I witnessed the proliferation of new ideological discourse on local products. The government of Kosovo, as well as political parties, social movements and public opinion were taking different "measures" to promote local products. It went as far as "reciprocity" measures with Serbia and Bosnia, leading to road blockings and riots. During that time, I insisted on finding out what local products meant to people and how they used them. To what extent did Kosovars really use the local products? It also became necessary to see how 'local products' were perceived by real consumers in everyday life and "what was local" about the local products.

The *Duaje tënden* (Love your own) movement initiated by *Vetëvendosje,* the radical left wing party in Kosova, in essence was a campaign that promoted local food products, for, as we mentioned, food industry is the local industry. The initiative started in September 2011 when *Vetëvendosje* released an ultimatum to the Government of Kosova to implement full "reciprocity measures" with Serbia and Bosnia, imposed in July 2011, a motion which was approved in the Kosova Parliament. A set of restrictions known as "reciprocity measures" were imposed to Serbia and Bosnia due to their refusal to recognise "Republic of Kosovo" customs stamps which prevented the export of Kosova products. However, only after 40 days or so of the reciprocity

measures regarding the recognition of customs stamps, on 16 September 2011, Serbia agreed to recognize stamps with "Republic of Kosovo" instead of "UNMIK" and the measures of reciprocity were stopped by the Kosova government. After 16 September, goods from Serbia and Bosnia could be exported to Kosova without any problems. In response to this decision, *Vetëvendosje* put forward a motion towards the Parliament which sought to enforce full economic, political and trade reciprocity measures, which, surprisingly, was approved by the majority in the Parliament. One of the demands required the Ministry of Trade and Industry to "stimulate and lead cooperation with domestic producers and trading enterprises to find replacements for products imported from Serbia."[141] However, the government made the motion redundant claiming that it is already applying reciprocity measures.[142] They asked members of the Parliament to withdraw their votes since it was clearly a mistake. It became apparent that the government realised that such actions could lead to devastation since, in the words of one cabinet member, "we cannot pose trade measures that within a night will multiply our export capacities, neither we can reduce or change the internal market needs. There is an impression from various interpretations that the Kosovo's economy will flourish if we close our border to external products. In reality, it has the precisely opposite effect: isolation leads to further poverty."[143]

[141] The motion had three main requests: "1. The Government to take full political, measures against Serbia. 2. Ministry of Trade and Industry to stimulate and lead cooperation with domestic producers and trading enterprises to find replacements for products imported from Serbia. 3. The Government to strengthen state mechanisms ensuring proper implementation of reciprocity measures toward Serbia." See *Vetëvendosje* newsletter, Nr. 280, December 2011 on http://www.vetevendosje.org/repository/docs/Newsletter_Nr.280.pdf

[142] See the report on South East European Times: http://setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/features/setimes/features/2011/12/09/feature-03

[143] Mimiza Kusari-Lila, the Kosova Minister of Trade and Industry during the "reciprocity measures", was seen as a tough decision maker and eloquent in her explanation of what reciprocity measures meant and what it did not. It was rumoured that she masterminded the "reciprocity measures" herself to strengthen the popularity of Kosova as a state that can manage her own affairs and make tough decisions. She was required to appear in parliamentary motion and her speech calmed many who claimed that the September 2011 agreement with Serbia on mutual recognition of customs stamps led to political failure. See her speech before the Parliament on 12 December 2011: http://www.mti-ks.org/?cid=2,577,1827

In January 2012, *Vetëvendosje* organized protests in front of two border-points between Kosova and Serbia and blocked the streets for couple of days with claims to "Stop Serbia" and "Stop Serbian goods." They claimed that that they were there to ensure that the motion passed in Kosova Parliament was being implemented in reality. During the protests many *Vetëvendosje* activist were arrested. The Government ridiculed them as "violating democracy." The opposition parties, which gave them support in passing the motion, denounced the road blocks and overturning of a lorry importing Serbian goods to Kosova. They called them to stop 'acts of violence' and propose their policies through parliamentary means. After other protests, *Vetëvendosje* ceased its border blocking activities, but continued their campaign "Love your product" and "Stop Serbia." *Vetëvendosje* reported consistently that Serbian goods entered Kosova via organized crime and corruption in the Northern part of Kosova run by Serbian criminals that did not recognise a Kosovar state. It was estimated that more than 400 million euros worth of products entered Kosova every year illegally in the black market. Accordingly, the Serbian government was using local Serbs in northern Kosova to as marionettes in their ideological game with Kosova and the European Union. The four municipalities inhabited mainly by Serbs rejected the legitimacy of the government of Kosova and its institutions leading to dense tension in local politics. The recent dialogue between Kosova and Serbia resulted in the first agreement in April 2013 on normalisation of relations between the two countries. This dialogue is expected to pave the way for both countries to integrate into European Union. Yet, there are still popular arguments the illegal products are still entering Kosova through northern "oasis of corruption and crime."

The ambivalent taste of "*prodhime vendore*"

The taste of local products such as vegetables, fruits and other foods that are produced in an 'economy of jars' (Smollet, 1989) is evaluated positively by Kosovars. They refer to such products as being traditionally produced locally and mainly associated with '*katun*' products. In postwar Kosova, the inherited traditional practices of producing jams and pickles were being promoted as 'traditional' crafts that could be revitalised to 'kick start' the development of agribusiness, agriculture, and economy in general. "Kosova had a tradition in agriculture and agribusiness," is the common phrase opening reports, policy brief, promotional material and speeches among various non-governmental, governmental and international agencies and institutions engaged in policymaking and statebuilding in Kosova. International surveys conducted to assess Kosova food economy immediately after the highlighted a "massive dislocation and destruction to the rural economy" (Lawrence, 1999: 2). Kosovars had to start from scratch to build the agricultural infrastructure. International agencies such as USAID and UNDP rushed to help rural population in local farming and local agribusiness.

In the postwar period, many local entrepeneurs invested their money and energy in producing food products ranging from various fruits juices to chips. Some of the local companies have been successful in attracting Kosovar consumers. Food festivals and food fairs have been crucial in promoting not just the image but also the sale of local products. In several food festivals in which I took part, local farmers constantly declared that they sell a lot of produce in food festivals organized in Kosovar cities. During the summer season, the public squares are always busy with local food initiatives. 'International Days' are becoming useful tactics to promote local products. During the first week of June in 2012, the Ministry of Agriculture of Kosova organized the 'Strawberry Week' in Prishtina, promoting local strawberry produce. Such

activities are happening almost every week in all towns (and some villages) of Kosova with aims to promote Kosovar products and help local farmers.

As discussed earlier, local restaurants were keen to buy local products from local farmers and many restaurants are engaged in a 'from field to plate' philosophy. When I asked which foods they considered to use safely in their kitchens, most responded saying that they do consider, use and will use in the future local raw vegetables, pickles and jams made locally. Most, however, responded saying that they are still not happy with the products produced by local food companies, especially those that need to be produced to endure time. Restauranteurs as well as most consumers were concerned and suspicious about new local food companies as they, according to their opinions, lacked tradition, discipline, technology and culture. Meat and poultry products are feared as being produced without any rigorous control needed and required for serious companies. In addressing the lack of quality of food produced by "newly rich postwar benefiters", Kosovars engage in a debate about themselves and their futures.

Despite much efforts to "stop Serbian goods," the ideological promotion of local products by political parties and movement was not as successful as intended. At the grassroots level, people continued to consume Serbian products, although similar products were launched during the 'reciprocity' battle between the two countries. This was especially witnessed in the case of *Plasma* biscuits. Plasma biscuits known as *Plasma* keks ("keks" coming from English "cakes") were produced in Serbia during socialism. The 'socialist children' (as they are sometimes called by informants) grew on eating *Plasma* and many people today in their 40s Plasma objectify their childhood memories in *Plasma* biscuits. During the summer of 2011, a new Kosovar product called *Sempre* from a local agribusiness was rushed into the local stores and supermarkets of Kosova as a substitute for Plasma. The product received a media promotion featuring in several

programs and shows. When I asked several people during that time to compare the two products, almost all responded that Plasma was much tastier. For one cook at Liburnia restaurant where I was conducing participant observation, *Sempre* was not as promoted: "When you use *Sempre* to make cake layers, you never get the same base like you do with Plasma. Also, the taste is not as good." Although, many cooks, restauranteurs and common consumers were keen to show 'patriotism' by supporting local products campaign and buying only local products during the "reciprocity" summer of 2011, most were not happy with the quality of the local products. "We want to buy local products and support our economy and stop Serbia, as *Vetëvendosje* movement claim, and maybe in time we get used to our products. But, in fairness, we haven't yet reached the level of maturity in producing qualitative products," responded Faik, the *Te Dili gjellëtore* cook.

Food imported from neighbouring countries is also argued to be suspicious. Some civil society organizations claim that this food is imported illegally and contains cancer-causing substances.[144] Yet, the Food and Veterinary Agency, the state-body that regulates the consumption of food and claims that the food imported in Kosova is controlled according to the laws of Kosova. One of the recent actions that this Agency undertook was the ban on unpackaged chicken legs and drumsticks sold in Kosova supermarkets, in order to protect Kosovar citizens from poisoning caused by them.

The 2010 World Bank Report provided a very unstable view of Kosovo economic development, highlighting the fact that Kosovo imports agro food products 200 times more than it exports.[145] This highlights the increasing "globavore" consumption in Kosova. The media has

[144] Gazeta Jeta në Kosovë at http://gazetajnk.com/?cid=1,1018,6676 [last accessed on 12 March 2014]
[145] More succinct analysis will be presented in the next draft. Info accessed at http://siteresources.worldbank.org/KOSOVOEXTN/Resources/297769-1274120156014/chapter6.pdf [last accessed on 12 January 2014]

proliferated the food dilemma mainly around cost, agricultural development and employment and health. Research evidence is not consistent and varies according to the institution that conducts the research. A recent report shows that a large percentage of remittances is spent on daily food consumption.[146]

[146] See Gazeta Express at https://www.gazetaexpress.com/lajme/mbi-437-milione-euro-te-emigranteve-u-perdoren-per-ushqim-208/ [last accessed 12 march 2014]

CHAPTER V

Makiato Argonauts of Prishtina

"Without the *makiato* the city is dead"
Bekim Berisha, Prishtina barista[147]

"There are enough cafés, bars and clubs in Pristina to keep all but the most demanding snobs satisfied... For Kosovans, the difference between a café, a bar, the local disco and indeed their living rooms or workplaces is extremely fluid." ("Pristina –In Your Pocket guide", spring-summer, 2011: 24)

"Although we have built large public squares, multi-storey buildings, different stylish cafés, nightclubs, and despite the fact that we pretend we have created different elites, in reality, a century after the departure of the last Ottoman soldier, our public life continues to function within the framework of *çarshija* mentality, a typical product of the culture and philosophy of Ottoman life." (Albatros Rexhaj, Kosovar writer)[148]

"The mix of people and their differing points of view serve as a hedge against the possibility that one may become an ideologue, smug, and self-satisfied in one's certitudes and incapable of seeing the other side of the issues… the third places contribute to a democratic society by countering the excesses of ideology. The different points of view expressed there encourage thinking." (Oldenburg: 2013: 19)

I am sitting in café *Boheme* in Pejton district in Prishtina. It is sunny autumn day. I have been here for 3 hours watching the world go by and watching people watching the world go by. It seems like the whole of Prishtina is sitting in cafés. I am watching a group of two guys and a girl

[147] This is taken from a quote given to Nate Tabak's article "The best macchiato in Prishtina: Granddaddy Papillon reigns supreme "on the Kosovo 2.0 journal. See [http://www.kosovotwopointzero.com/en/what-and-where/makiato-me-i-mire-ne-prishtine-gjyshi-papillon-mbizoteron-27-12-2010] accessed on 20 December 2012. Nate Tabak wrote several articles on Kosovar life for the newly established magazine called Kosova 2.0 published in Prishtina aiming to counteract conventional wisdom and popular myths in Kosova.

[148] This is extracted from a newspaper article called "Çarshija urbane e metropolit" written by Albatros Rexhaj, a fiction writer and an activist of "urban philosophy". The word *çarshija* refers to the town space characteristic of Ottoman towns. The article reads as an irony to the current trend of urbanization and public sphere associated with café culture. The article features in the "Tribuna" daily newspaper on 13 July 2013. Article can be assessed online at http://www.gazetatribuna.com/?FaqeID=17&LajmID=15345.

who have sat in their table for four hours. Firstly, they ordered coffee. Then, again they ordered another round of coffee. As usual, they ordered *makiato*. Then they had sandwiches (two tuna and a chicken). Immediately, they ordered *makiato* again. The waiter, who knows that I am observing the café behaviour approaches my table and says to me: "There you go. This is common routine every day! This is Kosova, we are a *makiato* society!" Then, he goes back behind the bar to continue making his coffee drinks. *Makiato* is the most popular coffee.[149] He makes from 100 – 250 *makiato* each day. It is also the most profitable product. People come in, drink, chat, and discuss politics, culture, art and their lives. They sigh, swear, laugh, kiss, shout and hum, feed babies and organise workshops, too. The café is at the centre of their pleasure, civility, anxiety, publicity, privacy and community. Cafés are ambivalent places: people love and hate them at the same time. "We are a café society, we are a *makiato* society…we numb ourselves staying in cafés, as there is nothing else to do," cries one group. "It is nice here. Our nightlife is cool. It shows that we are young, alive and optimistic about the future," cheers another group.

I wonder what does '*makiato* society' mean and does it do to local people. How is it constituted and how does it operate? Is this just another metaphor expressing local frustration with "state-building stuck in the mud?" Metaphors are rooted in material analogies. Yet, to call a whole society a '*makiato* society' may be stretching the analogy a bit. Flamur sits at my table while I am mulling over the notion of *makiato* society. I ask him: "What do you exactly mean by *makiato* society? What is it? Describe it to me?" He does not hesitate: "Where to begin? It is current mentality. We do everything in cafés. Café is everything. But, it is not just me saying this. You can see it, everywhere is the same. The whole government is here, politicians are here,

[149] *Makiato* (ital. macchiato) is an espresso topped with frothy milk. The word 'macchiato' come from Italian meaning 'marked'. Therefore, macchiato is a 'marked coffee' and the difference between macchiato and cappuccino and other frothy drinks is that macchiato is an espresso with tiny dash of frothy milk.

artists are here, professors are here, businessmen are here, mums and kids are here, students are here…all day long." His list continues. But so does my curiosity to look into the material objectification of what I have witnessed to be the most often used metaphor to describe everyday public life in Kosova.

Customers come and sit down, immediately ordering a coffee. The chairs inside are all wooden, which sometimes makes people uncomfortable. Other cafés and lounges are continually refurbishing and using comfortable chairs. Interestingly, the physical design of such café-lounges in Kosova is becoming more attractive and inviting for Prishtina cafégoers. Several times, I was suggested to choose a place with comfortable chairs. One of my colleagues at the University of Prishtina, confessed that he finds that his body aches every evening when he goes home, due to the fact that he stays long hours in cafés, hence his insistence in choosing a 'comfy café'.

Vegim and his friend are regular customers to *Boheme*. This is their 'territory', as they work in one of the governmental departments opposite the café. For them, the café allows them to get out of work for 'long breaks' and meet their friends and acquaintances. They come to the café almost every day and stay in for several hours, drinking and chatting and looking at girls passing by. "We are a beautiful race, prof! Look at our girls – of course the internationals are crazy!" Although they seem educated enough to know the meaning of the word race, they use it often to describe the Albanian posture. What about work? Vegim is disillusioned and blames everyone: "We, Albanians, can't stand formality. We have no culture of work. The government is full of *çoban* (shepherds). They can't stand proper work. That is why cafés are full." This is his comment for his colleagues, yet he also stays in cafés all day long and he also comes from a rural region.

Dardan, Sadri and Enver meet often in *Boheme*. Dardan and Sadri work in local banks as administrators and Enver works as security guard. I befriended them in 2011, as you do with regulars, and they have been my informants since then. In a spring day of 2013 they asked me to join them for a *makiato* in a new café that had apparently opened recently in Pejton. I had already heard that a new café called "Qeveria" had opened nearby but had no chance to see it. We went in and the whole café was decorated with historical images of Albanian politicians since medieval times. They had designed their brand to look as if it was governmental. Dardan started to laugh and asked me what I think. I said that it read as a parody for the '*makiato* government' that many people refer to. They all nodded. After he made our *makiato* and saw that we were in a joking mood the barista confessed: "They [the government administration] stay in cafés all day long, so we though we make a 'government' café, so they can feel like they are at work."

Përparim, a barista/co-owner confessed to me: "It is difficult to know who is *kull* (cool), because *kull* is complex nowadays. But how do you know someone is *kull* or not, if they are real and *in* [my italics] in what they do, because there are a lot of *katunar* [villager] trying to be *kull* in order to belong in Prishtina… How do you know? You know it when they walk in, sit down, the way they move, and who they are in with. *Prishtinali* have their own circles and they don't accept people as easy. You know, *Bamboo* bar still has the sign 'Welcome to Prishtina!'… It was ironic …for *katunar* basically. But I don't care. I am from Gollak [rural region near Prishtina] originally, so my father comes from village. I have no problem with origins. As soon as people behave nicely, and pay, I don't care. There are some cafés and bars that maintain their circles and if a stranger goes in to have a coffee, he doesn't feel welcome. No. Things have changed. Everyone is *kull* in their own way." For Përparim, cafés are places where people seek to

associate with others in search of belonging, familiarity and even fame within the youth community, friends, and/or circles. He mentioned to me several times that cafés were like "theatres" where people performed in order to be seen, to hunt and be hunted, as he put it. Although *makiato* is just another coffee with milk, they have made it into a famous Prishtina drink in an attempt to make themselves as agents in the dynamics of every day social life. In a Malinowskian sense, the whole of public life is permeated by makiato give and take. These are the *makiato* Argonauts of Prishtina.[150]

Introduction

As the quotes above suggest, Prishtina can be described as a café city. A new café culture has become fully entrenched in urban Prishtina, reflecting a shifting and sometimes polarised cultural, social, political preferences and practices around community and public sphere. As I discussed in earlier chapters, cafés[151] have emerged rapidly in Kosova, like nowhere else in Balkans. In the context of dining out as a formal amusement (Finkelstein, 1989), some restaurants have re-created the traditional ethos of dining, emphasising the architecture of the restaurants, regional traditional cuisine, iconic dishes and various other strategies of "staging authenticity" (MacCannell, 1973). The so-called 'traditional restaurants' are designed as objectifications of what I argue to be 'banal gastronationalism' (see chapter 3). They have, however, been vanguards in revitalising 'Kosovar' cuisine. Due to the absence of American fast food icons, many restaurants are constructed upon the idea of imitating the American fast food ethos. In general, Kosova's new eating out realm, as objectified in restaurants, cafés, has

[150] Compiled from four fieldwork notes, August-October 2012.
[151] I use the word café to connote coffeehouses, café bars, café lounge and other types of coffee places in Kosova, which serve coffee either as their only beverage or as one of their main drinks. The term refers to such places that are open from early in the morning until late afternoon. Although, most cafés are open until late at night, only a few turn into 'clubs' as pointed out in the quote from 'Prishtina-In Your Pocket Guide 2011' cited above.

produced new forms of public space, that, in turn, have engendered new behaviours, routines, identities and moral ideologies.

As I will discuss later in this chapter, there are several aspects that can be used as criteria for differentiation and categorisation. However, in Kosovar context, 'third places' are consistently changing and shifting as material, social and sensorial sites. Various factors are involved in this change. In the recent years, contemporary cafés, and their variants, constructed within the fashionable modern and/or European look and feel have emerged as new convivial spaces in the 'ingestible topography' of Kosova foodscape. This is best expressed in words of Flamur, the *Boheme* café owner in the centre of Prishtina:

> I worked in a place that had no identity. It was neither modern, nor traditional. My brother in London, he inspired me to open a similar type of café here. We even imported the décor, chairs, tables and many other things. At first, I wanted to open it only as a *kafiq* [small coffee shop that serves only drinks]… But, when we saw that there are plenty of customers around who would want to eat as well, we decided to introduce a menu… But most of my profit comes from coffee, not from food. I make more from a *makiato* than from a sandwich or pasta. And when we opened we wanted something more European, more modern. This is our clientele.

Although opinions vary, no café owner denies the fact that coffee sells more than anything else in their cafés. Even restaurants that serve "proper meals" (as discussed in chapter 4) refer to coffee (especially *makiato*) as one of the main products. When it comes to coffee, there is no

sharp contrast between a small coffee bar and modern restaurants. You do not have to order food in any of those. You can have a *makiato* and stay for hours.[152]

Fig.23. Café Street in Prishtina

Nevertheless, in this trendy rise of café culture in Prishtina, people express various concerns about the local phenomenon. "On one hand, people talk about *kriza* [crisis] and unemployment. On the other hand, cafés are full of people eating and drinking. Where do they get the money? What is happening?" Such questions are typical and can be heard every day. There are many 'experts' who appear on daytime television shows giving their scientific and sociological views on this phenomenon, ending up providing a moral critique of society in a most vulgar and banal way, sometimes even going as far as condemning cafés as 'urban decay.'

In the postsocialist context, there is a lot of attention to the proprieties of new consumption spaces and the moral ideologies associated with them. Caldwell suggests that,

[152] I have recently witnessed that many such bistros have introduced "lunch time pre-reservation" techniques. They place "reserved" signs on tables around 11am to ensure that only those who go for lunch can be seated. In such café-bistros, waiters approach you as soon as you go in and ask you if you are for lunch or coffee. I was told several times that this is the only way to halt the flux of students who occupy their tables by "sipping one macchiato all day long."

"embedded within these concerns are other, more complicated anxieties about safety, danger, intimacy, privacy, trust and community," (2009: 104). Cafés and the social life associated with them have forged their way to becoming crucial sites of local social life. Matters of politics, morality, values, identities and life in general are discussed in cafés. Can it be argued that Kosovar society has shifted from a 'kitchen table society' (Gullestad, 1984) to what might called 'café table society'? This shift, in local opinion, is noted as the caféisation of public life (*kafeizimi*). The term 'caféisation' is a local conception and experience, embraced and rejected at the same time by locals themselves. It is something which Kosovars themselves talk about, discussing and debating the café as another postwar phenomenon: a common metaphor referring to 'local dynamics', postwar 'shortcuts', and local way of dealing with matters regarding 'state-building' and 'life building'. It is a claim on the morality of public life and civil society. Locally, the café culture is perceived and argued not as an 'enabling sector' (Scambler & Kelleher, 2006) strengthening civil society, but as 'numbing sector' of any impulse within civil society.

This 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu, 1984) exercised against the potentiality of public sphere embodied in Prishtina café culture may be argued to be a "mimetic desire" (Girard, 1977) towards what is argued to be a "Western public sphere." This translates as a constant struggle to make sense of what is appropriate or not appropriate as an activity conducted by civil society institutions in a state-building country.

Similarly, in public opinion cafés and café cultures are also constantly used as metaphors to make analogies to Kosova as a site of 'clash of civilizations' (Huntington, 1996). Members of intellectual elites, disillusioned by politics, regard the café culture in Kosova today as a legacy of Ottoman urban past. As Rexhaj's quote cited in the first page of this chapter suggests, the public sphere resembles the Ottoman *çarshija*, argued to be the public space that signifies conformism

with power rather than critical space for new ideas. As such, it is supposed to be diametrically different to the public sphere, as discussed by Habermas (1989) embodied in salons, cafés and other places. Other public opinions consist of arguments that cafés have provided new spaces for young people to express themselves, but they are not significant as cultural institutions, reflecting only the post-war lack of employment and cultural apathy. Cafés are perceived as banal sites simulating a fake public sphere rather than substantial centres of criticism. Therefore, there are various and many assumptions made by locals about their local café phenomenon. My informants pointed out to me several times, directly and indirectly: "*Jemi shoqni e makiatosë!*" (We are a *makiato* society).

In this chapter, then, I want to analyse this notion of "café table society". By focusing on *makiato* as the most popular local coffee drink, I navigate through the caféscape, to use a term in Appadurai's sense (1996) to describe and analyse what constitutes café culture and how identities are formed and shaped within/around/outside/in relation to cafés. I use *makiato* as a 'phenomenological sign' (Tilley, 2008) to identify up and follow the routes of caféscape where notions of conviviality, sociality, capital and banality are objectified and how those objectifications through their ordinariness shape local understanding and elicit new meanings, experiences and social identities. Thus, in this chapter, I will analyse how values, norms, and identities are reproduced and negotiated in acts of café going in Prishtina. I focus on routines, practices, spaces and ordinary events. I argue that different meanings and identities are constructed in what is assumed as the process of routinisation, banal conviviality and vulgar commonality. I draw from informants' experiences and articulation, and also from my own experience. Anthropology should not be written in the abstract. It should be a conversation, regardless of where and whom it is written about. As Tilley suggests, 'the relationship between

an act of thinking and its object cannot capture the richness of our lived encounter with the world," (2004: 28). Thus, all we can do in our text is to observe, question, examine and evoke the character of experience in thick ethnography, in attempt to "make writing the voice for the stones, the places and the landscapes in which we are bodily immersed," (2004:28). I attempt to grasp the rhythm of café culture in its movements, voice, practices, discourses and statuses. The chapter is written in a nonlinear way to enable the weaving of those practices, voices and understandings as witnessed and observed in the course of my research.

Culture and coffee

The juxtaposition of coffee and culture is commonly regarded by my informants as representing a doomed state of affairs in current day Kosova. Culture is associated with works of imagination and aesthetics, whereas coffee is associated with banality, time wasting and everyday routines. The anthropological view of culture as practice in every day context is insignificant to the local conception, unless it is an attempt to 'doctor the nation' (Anderson, 2005) by identifying the relics of 'spiritual and material' culture hidden in the unpolluted heart of villagers living in some remote areas of Kosova. Thus, it appears that culture should be separate from commerce and every day banality embodied in the practice of drinking. The view is that culture resides in museums, art galleries, universities, festivals and other similar places. It is imparted only in a form of exhibitions, books, music, images and so on. In local terms, the understanding of what constitutes 'culture' is narrowed down to an only aesthetic view of 'art' or what is considered to be 'high art'. The knowledge and consumption of such art is considered to be forming one's 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1984). Thus, the views of 'culture as relic' and 'culture as high art'

are understood as having a functional use for collective and individual identity building. Therefore, 'culture as art' is strictly divided from 'culture as practice'.

In recent studies of commercial cultures in the age of mass consumption, anthropology has attempted to overcome such dualisms (Appadurai, 1996; Miller, 1987, 1995). The practice of culinary art and the value embedded in food is treated is treated within anthropology as "an embedded nature of economic action," (Miller, 2000: 77). In this context, the consumption of commodities such as coffee should be treated as embedding value in the constant flux, rupture and connection in the culture of everyday life. Dwight Heath pointed out that "a special strength of anthropology continues to be its anomalous role as 'the science of leftovers'," (1987:113). This is similar to the common notion that anthropology should not study 'stuff' since it is 'banal' and 'problematic'. Yet, anthropology is certainly baking its cake from the material ('stuff') in which we make our lives and ourselves. Food and drink are such common stuff that have been neglected as banal and not worthy of studying. "Why would anyone want to remember anything they had eaten?" was the response David Sutton received nearly two decades ago on research project on food and memory (Sutton, 2001: 1). The situation has changed since then and there is a growing research in food and drink cultures within the discipline of anthropology (as reviewd on chapter two). In his study of alcohol in Ireland, Wilson notes: "The importance of drink and drinking to ethnographers is clear. We meet informants and share alcohol. We partake of food and drink ritual and other celebratory events. We use alcohol as gifts and enticements, however meagre and unconscious." (Wilson, 2005: 6). The same can be argued for coffee. Caldwell also noted the relevance of cafés in her fieldwork conduct in postsocialist Russia noting: 'Informants are also more likely to meet in a café for interviews rather than in office or on a public bench," (2009: 116).

As a researcher of food culture, coffee has become quintessential object of my own consumption and study. The very act of ethnographic research is a continuous effort to share food and drink, and engage in conversation about local life. While immersing myself into my research, as an anthropologist and a citizen of Kosova, I realized the importance of food and drink in the make-up of social life. In Prishtina, over a drink of coffee, the whole world of thing was discussed, evaluated, compared and appropriated in an overarching discourse in the public realm. Drinking coffee, conversing and gossiping in café sharpens the edges and current debate on themes such as urbanisation, politicisation, peasanticisation and Europeanisation of Kosova. Coffee and cafés are accepted practices that have risen through 'cultural resistance' and 'cultural appropriation' since middle Ages. As a 'mind-altering' ingredient, coffee has a ripple effect in societies across the world since fifteenth century.

I also witnessed that although self-consciously 'culture' is understood as 'high art' that only the educated and the elite enjoy, culture is more often used to describe everyday life. The way they eat, drink, sit, wear, and present themselves is constantly referred to as *me kulturë* (cultured) or *pa kulturë* (uncultured). In fact, the very presentation of self in everyday life (Goffman, 1959) is brought into cultured/uncultured debate. An individual may belong to the 'aristocracy of culture' (Bourdieu, 1984) by being learned in literature and arts. Taste is argued to be a distinction between the 'high' and 'low' cultural axis. Yet, in postwar Kosova, culture and taste as displayed and performed by individuals in their everyday routines and practices, have taken an important role in formal and informal discussion. Although this sensibility is still silenced in the cultural debate, the very rise of dynamic coffee and café culture is a manifestation of debate in the culture of everyday life.

Coffee and café culture

The longstanding human fondness for coffee seems to have begun around the fifteenth century AD. The origins of coffee are traced back to Ethiopia where it had been consumed "from time immemorial" (Hewitt. 1872:16). Initially, it spread across borders in Middle East and then through the Ottoman Empire it arrived in Europe (Hattox, 1985). By the seventeenth century it became a global phenomenon and affected politics, economics, cultures and international affairs around the globe (Hewitt, 1872; Bates, 1997).

Nowadays, we can talk of 'coffee culture', referring to "ideas, practices, technology, meanings and associations regarding coffee," (Tucker, 2011: x). Coffee is drunk for pleasure, cultural reasons or out of habit in the social realm of café (Boniface, 2003). It is estimated that coffee is the second most valuable commodity on the world markets, the first being petroleum (Tucker, 2011). Through petroleum and its derivatives, many products find their way into all facets of our lives: plastics, electronics, building materials, clothing, furniture, and so on. What does coffee provide as second most valuable commodity? As a drink, coffee is not integral to our well-being, yet it generates more capital than any other commodity. Tucker argues that the combination of social utility and cultural associations, such as coffeehouses, are key factors. Coffee and coffeehouses in particular "help meet human needs for social interaction and a sense of community," (Tucker, 2011: 11). In fact, coffee was described as a revolution that affected the human temperament.[153] In his seminal essay, Roseberry (1996) argued that the new coffee flavours ('yuppie coffees') might be the "beverage of postmodernism."

In some places coffee has become "so integral to daily life that it has become part of national identity, in some places it has been little more than a habit or a necessity of life, and in

[153] For a full history of coffee see Pendergrast, M. (1999) *Uncommon Grounds: the History of Coffee and How it Transformed our World*, Basic Books

some places, coffee has been overlooked or rejected," (Tucker, 2011: 57). Brazil, Columbia and Vietnam held top positions in the world as coffee-producing countries. Recently, Germany has become the world's foremost coffee-importing and consuming nations. Turkey and Britain are renowned for early usage of coffee, yet today they are well-known as tea-drinking nations. It is claimed that the Industrial Revolution spurred tea consumption. As it was served with sugar, it became an inexpensive source of calories for working classes (Mintz 1986). The Ottomans had a fondness for coffee and their legacy is their famous Turkish coffee, present in all Balkan states, except Greece, where it is called Greek Coffee (Krašteva-Blagoeva, 2008). Today, Turkish coffee listed in UNESCO's Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.[154]

In Kosova, Turkish coffee is still made at home, and several restaurants and cafés have recently included Turkish coffee in their list of hot beverages. Coffee is as widely used in the domestic sphere as it is in a commercial sphere. You often meet people who say they "go for a coffee" even when they want to eat. Going for coffee is synonymous with almost any social activity taking place in public realm. A recognisable coffee culture appeared only in postwar period and it is increasingly popularised due to the rise of café culture. Although cafés are noteworthy for introducing the new coffee beverages into the public realm of the city, they have also acquired a greater significance as private-public places in the life of the city. They have become standard bearers of Prishtina's reputation and fame. In the recent Bradt travel guide to Kosova, café culture is clearly noted as a surprise factor:

> Kosovo is an intriguing place and full of paradoxes and surprises for many first-time visitors. How come a landlocked Kosovo has much a Mediterranean flair and vibrant

[154] In 2013, UNESCO was officially listed in the Intangible list. See the description below: http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/RL/00645 (last accessed 14 April 2014)

> outdoor café culture? By what twist of fate has Kosovo become the place with the best coffee anywhere outside of Italy? Don't be surprised to find a deeply entrenched raki-drinking culture in a majority Muslim country. (Warrander & Knauss, 2010: vii)

Yet, Kosovars themselves constantly express their ambivalent feelings towards cafés. Cafés are both internalised as places where you can be together with friends and enjoy conversations, but they can also be places that deeply affect the ethics of work. Many locals expressed deep concerns with cafés as manifestations of postwar struggle to cope with the requirements of contemporary work ethics. Cafés are likened sometimes to the Ottoman legacy of *çarshija*, public places that conform to power exercised from above. As the quote above suggests, cafés are perceived as manifestations of social and intellectual apathy. Several friends and colleagues, who are themselves intellectuals and academics, had a similar opinion about café culture: decay, youth, mindlessness, apathy, and routinisation.

> Cafés in Prishtina are like nurseries. They feed the 'newborn' workforce with *makiato* like they do with *Vita* milk in nurseries. Youth stay there all day long. You wonder, where do they get the money? It is crazy here. (Demir, 54, security guard, Prishtina)

> I think cafés and restaurants are different. Cafés sell a €1.50 sandwich and a €0.50 *makiato* whereas restaurants have a different style. Cafés are for the poor to wash down the *burek* bits left in their mouth with a *makiato*. Restaurants sell to big fish, to sharks

and to their international friends. [155] They have the money. (Hasan, 37, administrator, Prishtina)

Fig. 24. Cafés in Pejton, Prishtina

It depends but they all want to be different now. Some restaurants have found good locations, near the government and international agencies. They want to attract this kind of clientele. Some have opened near university for students, some near those places where large companies are building properties. Different. I don't go to those expensive restaurants. Not because I can't afford to go once or twice, but the food is the same. You know cuisine is a court invention, a class invention. Here, we have the class of post-war newly rich, we have *kullera*, we have an intellectual class that is not a class anymore, and

[155] The reference to corrupt politicians as 'sharks' is common in Kosova. The metaphor was used by EULEX before they arrested several politicians, called 'big sharks' in their attempts to help build a "rule of law" system of governance.

> we have the common people. We also have the foreigners, who come and go. (Krenar, 46, lecturer, Prishtina)
>
> Cafés are places for those who can't do anything with their lives. They are for losers, for *kullera*, for retarded intellectuals who stay there all day long doing nothing. Internationals like them too, because look at our women. All naked. All day in cafés and nice restaurants flirting with foreigners. Nobody cares nowadays. The foreigners have helped us fight Serbia and you can say that without their help we would never be able to win the war. Now they are here to enjoy freedom with us. (Musa, 44, textile worker, Prishtina)

Kosovars are constantly concerned about the effect of café culture on their society. In fact, the concerns with the morality of post-war consumption have not been confined only to coffee and cafés, but have also extended to debates about morality and propriety of spaces of consumption, that is common in a postsocialist context (Caldwell, 2009). In recent years, the proprieties of consuming places, especially those of food and drinks, have emerged in private and public conversation. The moral propriety of cafés, restaurants, clubs and such "luxurious" places is always put into question. In general, my informants were constantly invoking moral ideologies of consumption in which some places were more appropriate and comfortable for them to sit and eat or drink. As spatial formations in which food and drink practices are situated, cafés are perceived as shaping the behaviour of people moving through them. All sorts of parallels are drawn between café culture and society. The argument that cafés reveal social and cultural ideologies, banalities and civilities intersects with the current debate about the existence of civil society. The postsocialist debate is focused on the 'nature' (Hann, 1996) and the "spatializing

logic" (Caldwell, 2009:105) of civil society. Hann argues that it is imperative to take into account the fusion of "moral, the social and the political," (1996: 3) in order to understand how local people understand and experience civil society. In this context, it is argued that "recasting the spaces of public life as *moral* spaces is productive for understanding the implications of how the architectures and topographies of food culture have changed ...in postsocialist societies," (Caldwell, 2009: 106).

Having identified some of features of café culture, I want to turn now to the two main arguments related to the institution of cafés as space and place. Firstly, cafés have been argued to have taken a special role in the enabling of public sphere in Western society. Secondly, cafés are catalysts of community-building. I also examine how the local response to new cafés is embedded in concerns that invoke pleasure, anxiety, trust, and community. Furthermore, I examine how cafés are experienced as sensorial places, and the extent to which the sensorial and bodily experiences shape, negotiate and construct the common understanding of café culture.

Cafés and the public sphere

Although coffee became popular hot drink in the 15th Century, it would not have been able play such a significant role in societies across the world without the development of commercial coffeehouses. The first coffee houses in Istanbul and London provided people with the place to drink coffee, converse and debate. As early as the 16th Century, coffeehouses acted as new sites of public debate. In Istanbul, coffeehouses were crucial places where different elites and subcultures engaged in thriving intellectual and artistic vibrancy (Ellis, 2008). There were even principles and rules that governed behaviour in the coffeehouse. In Istanbul, the first city in which they emerged, coffeehouses proliferated in great variety, accommodating different classes,

professions and subcultures, allowing Muslims to engage in a social space outside their homes and mosque courtyards (Tokman, 2001:7). At certain times they were heavily surveyed as posing threats to political order. Coffeehouses served not just coffee, but also sweets and other hot beverages. Music, poetry and business deals were common activities.

Analysing the history of cafés in France and the social significance of café as a French institution in 18th and 19th Centuries, Haine (1996) notes the development of diverse social relations in French society. In the 18th Century, most cafés served alcohol to the elites of Paris. A variety of establishment serving coffee, alcohol and food to working classes developed in Paris in the 19th Century, "imitating the interior decoration of fashionable eighteenth –century cafés, using mirrors, bas-relief, and other garish ornamentation," (Haine, 1996: 4). In this respect, cafés became more democratic places where working class people could mull over their perceptions of society. Cafés became places where "men went out at night to drink, meet with others, exchange information, ideas or pleasantries and otherwise amuse themselves. Hospitality was no longer synonymous with the home, nor was one's list of leisure-time companions coterminous with one's familiars from the contexts," (Hattox, 1985: 127-128). To be hospitable was also to be convivial and cafés were essential sites of conviviality. Cafés were also important sites of business. As Emerson argues, "The vogue for coffeehouses, ranging from Austria to Portugal, changed the way in which people gathered to conduct their business and meet their neighbours for a social chat," (1991: 7).

Coffee houses and salons had an important role in the intellectual life of Western countries. In a sense, coffeehouses served as social networking sites where people went to drink coffee and read, discuss and catch up with the rumour and gossip. Analysing the role of social media in the 20th Century, Standage (2013) points out that coffeehouses became "sites of

debate" for artists, intellectuals, academics and travellers, and inspired creativity rather than decline. Merchants used them as meeting rooms which gave rise to new business models and new companies. Adam Smith wrote his influential book *The Wealth of Nations* in a coffee shop. Isaac Newton was also inspired by an argument in coffeehouse to write his *Pricipia Mathematica*. According to Standage, the social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter provide similar platforms for creativity and public debate (Standage, 2013).[156] Nevertheless, coffeehouses were as democratic as they seemed to be in the arguments made by Habermas (1989). Women were not allowed to enter coffeehouses. As Ellis argues, "In this way, even a space that considered itself radical precisely because it was egalitarian, nonetheless established a space which surreptitiously re-encoded forms of hierarchy and prejudice without itself knowing it was doing so," (2008: 163).

The importance of coffeehouses as institutions is also highlighted in the arguments put forward by Habermas (1989) on the rise and fall of public sphere in 18th Century Europe. Accordingly, elites such as writers, artists and political journalists, and others, appropriated the coffeehouse to engage in dialogue and criticism regarding public matters. Coffeehouses in the UK and salons in France emerged as new institutions to materialise the space of public sphere, the centre of criticism between aristocratic society and bourgeois intellectuals. According to Habermas, "The predominance of the 'town' was strengthened by new institutions that, for all their variety, in Great Britain and France took over the same social functions: the coffeehouse in their golden age between 1680 and 1730 and the salons in the period between regency and revolution. In both countries they were centres of criticism – literary at first, then also political – in which began to emerge, between aristocratic society and bourgeois intellectuals, a certain

[156] Although there may be similarities between coffeehouses and Facebook, one cannot actually sit in a chair and hold a hot cup of *makiato* in Facebook.

parity of the educated." (1989: 32). In this respect, coffeehouses and salons became essential places to exercise criticism on matters of "common concern" (Habermas, 1989: 36) that were otherwise monopolised by the state and church authority. Thus, through debate and criticism fostered by intellectual elites of the time, such places were accessible places: "Everyone had to be able to participate," (Habermas, 1989: 37) to engender a publicist body by becoming a mouthpiece of the general public, although the masses were illiterate. For Habermas (1989), the public sphere is a sphere between civil society and the state, emerging with the market economy when the critical public discussion of matters of general interest are institutionally guaranteed.

In the 18th Century, public coffeehouses and salons were material objectifications of the public sphere. In her analysis of the main similarities and differences between the coffeehouses in Britain and salons in France, Calhoun (2012) distinguishes three main features: equality, sociability and communication. New writers and artists could read their latest work there, discussing with critics, expressing themselves and forming alliances. Newspapers and coffeehouses were regarded as being in a symbiotic relationship. Of course, with the appearance of libraries and the wider circulation of literature in school system, the public sphere associated with coffeehouse disappeared, leaving room for mass media and other forms of discussion in civil society. Many have argued that public sphere is not just a European phase but it constitutes a normative ideal (see evaluations by Postill, 2012). Also, on the one hand there are arguments that coffeehouses and cafés in Western societies today are still playing a similar role (Laurier, 2008). On the other hand, the conversational cornerstone of our society is not the same as the media may be replacing the places "which once provided fertile ground for social transformation," (Linger-Vertabedian & Vertabedian, 1992: 216). However, it is also argued that

the principles that the same principles that guided the rise of the public sphere centuries ago, are driving the current tendency in the digital public sphere (Postill, 2012; Rand, 2013).

To what extent can we argue that the 'public opinion' termed as 'café culture' in Prishtina is similar to the notion of 'public sphere' as argued by Habermas? What social conditions has the café culture engendered to initiate a rational and critical debate about public issues, letting the arguments influence decisions? During 1990s, they were places that materialised the space of resistance and opposition to Serbia's occupation. Political meetings, party elections and various other activities that were essential for maintaining the resistance to Serbian occupation were held in restaurants and cafés. The very first meeting before the constitution of the first democratic political party embracing pluralism in South-East Europe happened in café "Elida" in Prishtina.[157]

In postwar context, cafés, restaurants, galleries, public squares and many other spaces have emerged as crucial material sites for debate, discussion and criticism associated with the strengthening of civil society. Although many writers, like the one quoted above, maintain that there is no Kosovar public sphere, and they associate the current 'critical' activities to a caricature of Ottoman legacy, the reality is more complex. One may argue that Kosova lacks the tradition of the public sphere as rooted essentially in liberal principles of freedom, market economy and rule of law, as exercised in many Western democracies. Yet, to argue that anything that is happening in Kosovar public space today is just an effect of Ottoman mentality, as if that type of mentality is transcendent, may be an overstatement. Civil society as a notion and practice

[157] As a confectionary-café type of outlet, "Elida" was often frequented by parents taking their children for ice-cream. Also, writers, journalists, and literary critics gathered there to discuss the fate of the Albanians found helpless against the rising nationalism in Serbia. Lidhja Demokratike e Kosovës/LDK [The Democratic League of Kosova] headed by Dr Ibrahim Rugova, was created on 23 December 1989, as the first political party in Kosova, after Serbia abolished Kosovar autonomy in March 1989. Many of the founders of the party, members of the first council, acknowledge the fact that they met in "Elida" to discuss political matters, which led to the formation of LDK.

is debatable and constantly changing to involve various types of critiques coming from non-governmental entities in different political context (Hall, 1995, Hann & Dunn, 1996).

In postwar context, cafés have emerged mainly as places of youth culture and subculture. Also, nongovernmental organisations have been constantly using cafés as sites for discussion, report launching, book launching, promotion of movements and so on. A good example would be café *Ditë e Natë* [Day and Night], a bookshop-café where many such events take place almost on daily basis. An NGO called D4D organises 'Tuesday salons' in the spirit of the salons that Habermas talks about. The "Kosova Writers' Club" also uses cafés to organise their meetings and book promotions. Many non-governmental associations and groups, formally or informally constituted, use café space for their activities. On 17 May 2011, I attended an event called "Conversation with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak" organised by "Alter Habitus", a nongovernmental organisation also known as the Institute for Studies of Society and Culture, headed by my colleague Nita Luci, an anthropologist. The evening was a heated debate on issues of gender and feminism in general and the local feminist frustration with 'locals' who in the words of an attendant, "don't understand and ask us to have a localised version of feminism not Western feminism." Gayatri Spivak was furiously quick to remind local feminists and those present at the event that there is "only one type of feminism." Albin Kurti, the leader of *Vetëvendosje* (Self-Determination), a radical left movement preaching unification with Albania, was also present. The debate became a shambles as a young man who happened to be there threw a lot of 'naïve' questions and remarks about feminism, political correctness, and so on. However, after a while things got on track and the discussion involved "critical resistance in discourse and real life" along the paradigm of "real empowerment," which translated as criticising and overthrowing anyone who is not 'us' or does not think like 'us'.

In Prishtina, the café is used and appropriated as a place for many cultural activities. It is used to connect young people and non-governmental charities that sometime lack the space and room to accommodate their activities. Various subcultural groups and organizations, and amongst them several feminist, environmental, governance and other groups, feel much more comfortable to hold their meetings and promotions at the café. In conversation with many representatives, the café is referred to as the "most convenient place" to hold their activities. "Suitable, common, nice and small, goes with current trend," and similar sentiments were the main words used to describe reasons for choosing a café. An informant, an artist from Prishtina, described it in this way:

> Here you have artists, *alternativcat* (alternative ones), *NGO-shat*, [NGO people] and others alike. They organise debates, screen films here, they have talks, exhibitions, music, all sorts. I think it is better than having a conventional institute. It is freestyle here, café style. (Female, 27, customer, café "Ditë e Natë").

In fact, the use of cafés for such activities is so ubiquitous that many informants who work for the government express their concern with the "informality" associated with cafés. One of my café friends who works for a government ministry, pointed out to the fragility of the new government of Kosova. According to him, most employees in the government are young people who have just completed their undergraduate or graduate studies.

> This is the biggest problem that I have in my division. Staff wants to be in the café. They can't stand the discipline required to work. They want to make their work 'like in a café'.

> Most of them have no experience at all and come from university life which is characterised by café culture. They conceptualise everything from that point of view – the café view. And, the top politicians don't care what happens in ministry offices, so there you go. *Qeveri e kafeizuar, shoq*! [Caféised government, man!]

Cafés and community

There are many meanings and values attached to café as a community-building institution. This is argued in recent reflections on 'café society' (Tjora & Scambler, 2013), based largely on Oldenburg's approach to cafés as 'third places' (1991) and Scambler & Kelleher's (2006) approach to cafés as 'enabling sectors' for civil society. In arguing about community-building as key to contemporary urban planning, Oldenburg highlights the importance of 'third places', a term he coined himself to signify the distinctiveness of public places that have separate social surroundings to home and work environments. He identified eight characteristics that would make up a 'third place': neutral ground, leveller, accessibility, conversation, regulars, low profile, playful mood, and a home away from home (1991). In a recent essay, he argues that despite claims of vanishing public sphere associated with cafés and the emergence of new social sites such as Facebook, the café will survive. Summing up his views on cafés as third places, Oldenburg notes that the café will go on, "especially the one with terrace seating that shows itself to the passing parade as the best that civilization has to offer" (2013: 20). In this context, the café is also studied as a place that embodies the notion of 'community' (Henriksen et al, 2013). Cafés are also argued to play an essential role in enabling civil society. According to Scambler & Kelleher, "In civil society, then, the concerns and arguments raised in families, pubs and other meeting places (in its 'enabling sector') are taken up by movements (in its 'protest

sector') and carried into a public sphere largely dominated by media interests, competing to bring them to the attention of government," (2006: 222).

Fig.25. Sitting in cafés

We often use different words such as coffee shops, coffee lounge, espresso bar, coffeehouse, cafeteria, café room and so on to refer to the diverse typology of place serving the hot beverage. Similarly, we often use the word café to group all those places together. In addressing this issue, Bernson notes that "answering the question of terminology requires an understanding of the café as a fluid typology of retail and public space that has in various times and places served an overlapping constellation of needs via a variety of spatial and conceptual configurations. Each of the possible terms we could refer to it by corresponds roughly to a specific type of configuration arising out of a specific historical and cultural context," (2011:18). If you add the cultural and historical context in different places then cafés (as well as all eating and drinking places) become equally specific within their cultural context.

In Kosovar context, cafés as social sites are not recent phenomena. As I discussed in chapter one, various eating and drinking establishments developed during the Ottoman reign continued to shape the culture of eating and drinking out in the public sphere. *Kafehane, akçihane*, *meyhane* and *serbethane* were different types of venues serving food and drink to elites and common people. After the Second World War, a new type of tea was introduced to Kosova, commonly known as Russian tea. A new type of café emerged in urban towns known as *çajtore* (tea tavern), where only tea and coffee were consumed, usually for the majority of the population who belonged to the Islamic faith, which restricts the drinking of alcohol. During the 1980s, Prishtina was a vibrant city and the cultural centre for all Albanians in Yugoslavia. In general terms, "In 1980, Prishtina was a vibrant city with its characteristic *korso* [traditional evening promenade] full of young people walking up and down, modern auditoriums used for plays, ballet, and music, an active youth centre with all sorts of indoor sports, dancing, and art courses, as well as plenty of coffee houses and cinemas," (Rusinow cited/quoted in Krasniqi, 2011: 343). Pop culture in Kosova, and especially rock music, developed as an innovative counterculture opposing Yugoslav communism. Yet, as mentioned above, this subculture (Hebdige, 1979) caused much debate in musical, sociological and political context in Kosova. Rock music was considered to be anti-national and anti-communist, and compared to cafeteria and "disco space" (Krasniqi, 2011: 351). Although, there are no written historical accounts of urban life in Prishtina during socialism, urban Prishtina of the 1970s and 1980s is remembered with much nostalgia in local memory. The centre was full of cafés accommodating young urban youth cultures associated with arts, literature and music. They were used to be called *kafiq*, a term which is still occasionally used in Prishtina, especially by the generation that witnessed their rise. It is also important to remember that after the 1999 war, Kosovars were constantly in

search of the ways in which they could recover their social life. The public space has become a battle ground for competing narratives of power, manifested as 'aesthetics of power' (Luci, 2014). Images, war monuments, protests, commemoration events, and various other practices are constantly shaping the way in which Kosovars perceive themselves as citizens. Yet, the Kosovar everyday life in public space is constantly shaped by café culture. In Prishtina, the mundane activities, routines and events associated within caféscape shape almost all types of activities taking place in the public space.

The difference between cafés and bars in Prishtina is indeed fluid. Most cafés are buzzing and trendy places where anyone can sit and have a coffee. Most are not associated with places where only young people hang out. In fact, most cafés around the centre are constantly trying to promote themselves as places for all. Yet, in the evening most cafés turn into 'bars'. This shift is noticed in the change of music, lightning, and sometimes the re-arrangement of tables and chairs. After 7pm, most cafés will not serve food. In Café Boheme, after 5pm, only one person works in the kitchen as the lunch bistro turns into a café/bar to suit the nightlife trend in Prishtina. According to Flamur, the head waiter and the owner, "People go home after 5pm as not many can afford to eat out twice a day."

Analysing the comeback of cafés in contemporary society, mainly in the UK and the USA, Laurier notes that "coffee replaces alcohol, the daytime the night-time, the cup for the glass, the counter for the bar, the barista for the bar maid, bawling babies for brawling drunks. Yet for all their differences so much is shared: expectations of conviviality, the formation of distinct crowds, shelter from the rain or the hot sun, the recognition of regulars, the enjoyment of the presence of others and, of course, the centrality of conversation sometimes domestic, sometimes political, sometimes with matchless wit, sometimes with life dimming

dullness,"(2008:166). Cafés are supposed to be 'community places' where locals gather in their daily convivial routines such as in cafeteria in Greece (Cowan, 1991). They are also places where tourists can grab a coffee and have a 'gaze' (Lash & Urry, 1994) and 'flaneur' (De Certeau, 1984) experience with the place they have visited. Yet, cafés such as Starbucks, have been referred to as "rootless cosmopolitanism" (Wurgaft, 2003), a coffee/café company compared to Coca-Cola, perceived as a kind of meta-symbol and meta-commodity of capitalism (Miller, 1998).

With the recent revival of café culture, coffeehouses have taken a crucial role in enabling social life. In recent research, the social dynamics of café are characterised by informality, accessibility and soft-sociability (Holm in Bernson, 2011:17-18). Paraphrasing Foucault, Bernson argues that "the café is one of the heterotopias *par excellance* in modern society… café is a spatialization of the fact that social life, especially in cities, cannot be neatly divided into binaries. Needs such as solitude within the urban crowd, or neutral space for social exchange cannot be addressed by spaces that operate within public/private dichotomies because these needs are inescapably defined by aspects of social life that fall under both categories," (2011: 143-144). According to Bernson, social spheres such as private, public, economic, social, leisure, work are brought into symbolic overlapping and contestation. As such, "the café is a heterotopia where we are able to negotiate the contradictions of social life, accepting them and contesting them as required to fit the daily exercise of our lives," (Bernson, 2011: 145).

Conviviality in cafés can also involve verbal and non-verbal strategies that enable customers to maintain power relations and establish solidarity within the group. In the Lebanese context, men sitting down in cafés enact their power relations and establish solidarity within the group by laughing, frowning, teasing and gossiping (Fidaoui & Bahous, 2013). Interestingly, in

the process of explaining the difficulties of research, they note that "another hindrance was the non-stop noise that haunted us while observing the cardplayers and conducting the interviews with them… The non-stop noise included voices of nearby conversants, the clatter of glasses and utensils, the noise of ventilation fans to name a few," (2013:62).

Space, morality and routines

The management of everyday urban life in socialist Kosova acquired a special significance. State policy and ideology enacted their 'engineering vision' to turn bazaar town space into uniform socialist space. As a new project of emancipation, socialism remodelled space according to its main principles of egalitarian philosophy. Both private and public places were reorganised to fit the common socialist architectures of style, appearance and functionality. Streets were renamed, bazaars were destroyed, halls and large buildings were built in their ruins. Communal living space was standardised; streets and public squares were constructed upon the socialist model filled with ideological signs, flags, monuments and similar 'images of power'. The spatial organisation of everyday life was recalibrated to fit to the homogenising socialist project (Humphrey, 1995). The socialist architecture was designed with principles in mind to transform the private sphere into a public or shared space, through various models of communal living (Buchli, 1999).

As I discussed in chapter one, the notion of 'foodscape' (Ayora-Diaz, 2012) in Kosova during socialism was characterised by the political nature of state production and uneven distribution on the one hand, and peasant moral ideology of harmony and reciprocity on the other hand. Public eating and drinking places were also highly gendered, reflecting both the conservatism of Albanian tradition and the illusions of socialist policy. In practice, men ate

separately from women, and women very rarely ate out. The socialist restaurant connoted the party status and reflected the socialist hierarchy associated mainly with urban class. The rest of the eateries, such as *gjellëtore, qebaptore, çajtore*, and *ëmbëltore* embodied practices of conviviality and routines of everyday life in a "third place" context.

In the 1980s, the rise of *kafiq* (small cafés) associated with music groups and youth culture (mainly rock music) can be argued to have initiated a spatial change in the context of food and drinking practices. Young people gathered together to drink coffee and alcohol, and sing. As I mentioned earlier, *kafiq* constituted a new subculture that resisted both, the peasanticization of Prishtina and the communist ideology. In postsocialist and postwar context, the experience of spatial design engendered a new "spatial consciousness" (McDonogh, 1995: 5) which coincided with the new food practices. Changes in food consumption and practice necessitated change in how/where spaces food cultures are situated. Changes in spatiality, practice, patterns and choices means a recasting of public space as "moral space" (Caldwell, 2009:106). Some changes are appropriated and negotiated and some are refused on grounds of propriety and morality. In attempts to make sense of such changes, Kosovars are constantly asking for reasons, causes and effects behind the new consuming spaces.

The way in which they organise, design and decorate their spatial lay out is also significant to cafés as new spaces of morality, propriety and civility. The generic appearance of cafeterias, *gjellëtore* and socialist *kafiq* is being replaced with vibrant colour schemes, unique décor, comfortable furniture and specific music. In postsocialist context, both pleasure and anxiety are argued to be common responses to such changes (Caldwell, 2009; Jung, 2009). In Kosovar context, both pleasures and anxieties associated with new consuming spaces in general and cafés in particular are evaluated and interpreted as banal conviviality, modernisation,

Europeanisation and political stagnation. Yet, as I argued earlier, this is a general view emanated as symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1984) and mimetic desire (Girard, 1973) to be have a shortcut to the status of "public sphere" and "civil society" as perceived to be specific of European culture and political life. In the following section, I want to turn to the routines, convivial moments, hospitable experiences, events and practices objectified in café culture. However, I want to concentrate in objectification of meaning, value, moralities and identities from the bodily-oriented approach.

Fig.26. Café wall decorated with common café aand *kull* phrases

Kosovars are quick to remind you of the 'rutinisation of life' that is typically associated with *makiato* drinking in numerous cafés in their local city. When you ask someone how they spent their day, what did they do, what are they doing next or if you only ask, "How is it going?" the most likely response is "nothing", then they probably continue with a short sentence saying, "I

just had a makiato," or "I came out to have a *makiato*." It is as if *makiato* drinking is an activity that does not include any 'activity' in itself, as a routine that objectifies absence and passivity rather than presence and activity. Yet, when you start discussing the café sociality, most informants turn to *makiato* as something that characterises their way of life. "*Makiato* is our way of life," said my brother Kushtrim, 23, a law student. For him and his group of friends, going out during the day is ultimately linked to *makiato* drinking. As common drink, popularised to keep the "spirit of the city running", *makiato* is initially cultivated as an objectification of "going out capital" in Prishtina.

Take-away coffee customers are argued to typically dominate the café space in the morning (Henriksen et al, 2013: 90). This routine pattern of behaviour is not common in Prishtina. You hardly see people taking coffee away in plastic cups. "We have all the time in the world, so why take it away," patronized one of my informants when I asked him why he did not order a take away. He was constantly rushing to drink his coffee, but was not willing to take away. The practice of sitting down seems to provide more stability. Often, such routine is locally considered to be a large obstacle to the progressivity of the Kosovar society. Coffee routines and, as locals argue, the "Albanian mentality" that goes with it are often considered to be the main obstacles of state-building. Even when I did not directly ask them about coffee routines in workplace, informants were always quick to jump to their metaphor of "*makiato* society". One informant put it in this way: "Whenever you go, to the doctors, in municipality buildings, in hospital, in schools, in any office you enter, you find people drinking coffee and not caring. None cares in Kosova. All they do is drink coffee. This is crazy and we are never going to build our state." When I said that this is not as bad as it seems since this is something that is also practiced abroad, he said to me, "Well abroad they have *kushte* and have everything. We are not

abroad here. In the West, people work. We don't. We drink three hours in the office, another four hours in the café and we work one hour a day. This is the Albanian mentality." Kosovars are constantly preoccupied with state-building and politics in general. Thus, discussing anything about social life in Kosova ultimately boils down to politics, and politics is blamed pretty much for everything.[158]

Regulars, as Oldenburg (2001) argued, make up the stability and the feel of the café. They give the vibrancy and the buzz. Regular guests feel at home, they know where to sit and how to navigate around the café. However, the status of regulars is "established in interaction with the staff and is deeply tied to a sense of mutual recognition" (Henriksen et al, 2013: 92). Small talk and ordering the same coffee everyday are common routines that maintain the relationship between the regular and the host. Hosts also ensure that regulars are served immediately, they are looked after and provided with things they need. Often hosts engage in the moral economy with the guests by providing them with free coffee 'on the house' as a way of building a relationship of mutual interest. By providing such gifts, hosts usually require more guests and aim to strengthen their café capital. Increasing the number of regulars is seen as essential in increasing the reputation of the café.

In Prishtina, when a new café opens, it is common to ask who the owners are, since the owners are supposed to have their type of clientele, which consists mainly of people who share the same cultural capital. The business of finding a place to open a new café or to transfer the old café is very competitive. Agon, who is a café owner, has changed his location 4 times since 2002. According to him, the geography of café capital has been extended from the main hot spot in the area known as *Kurrizi* (The Ridge) in Dardania district in South of Prishtina. This area was

[158] As we were watching local election campaigns on TV, during autumn 2013, my father made constant remarks about Albanian mentality in post-socialist context saying that "Albanians blame everything on the state. They think the state must do everything for them. This is not right. They even want the mayor to change their light bulbs!"

the centre of nightlife and café life during 1990s. "After the war, new areas started to open like little islands all over Prishtina. Today there are several such areas across Prishtina." Although some cafés are associated with certain groupings, mainly youth groups, the café routines and behaviour, the types of drinks and service, the food and drinks served, the regular clientele and many other café features are similar in each café.

The 'going out capital' is naturalised back into being a collective habitual routine. As such it is now what Wilk calls "repressive naturalization" (2009: 150), a practice of forcing to keep the routine of *makiato* drinking in the current trend of various cafés opening up in Prishtina offering different types of coffees. The mundane activity of *makiato* drinking becomes special when new drinks, with their associated images, stereotypes and discourse of modern convenience, risk de-familiarising the routine. Some of my informants discriminated against the newly opened Amelie café in Prishtina, noting that they serve "straw coffee" (referring to various frothy coffees) associated with children's ice-cream.

Anthropologists are keen on routines, for routines are ways of life. The very word routine is "the diminutive of route, the making of small paths in everyday lives" (Ehn & Löfgren, 2009: 100). Paths are established through conscious choices naturalised in the practice of movements, directions, engagement and social actions. Routines can be tools of organising, manuals of doings and devices of economising. According to Ehn & Löfgren (2009), routines can be explained in terms of their polarities, constraining and supporting people in their social lives. They go further to highlight instances when routines (unnoticed and hidden) become everyday rituals and the processes in which they are made and un-made.

According to Wilk, "Both Durkheim and Weber associated habitual and unthinking routinized behaviour with animals, and with primitive and traditional societies," (2009:144). In

this respect even anthropology of ritual in pre-modern societies was perfectly justified. The idea of rationalisation and modernity liberating humans from routines and habits into disciplined and rational thinkers acting normatively runs through many modernist theories. Highlighting the modernist discourse on routines, Wilk argues that there is a dichotomy at work:

> So, on one hand, we have a utilitarian narrative in which modernity liberates us from the drudgery of repetitive routines, and allows the free play of choice and rationality. On the other hand there is a romantic narrative which tells us just the opposite that once we were free to live in nature, but that industrial society has trapped us into an ever-increasing pace of forced routine, that industrial lives are built around the careful choreography of simultaneous rhythms which exhaust and drain us. (2009: 146)

Wilk argues that to frame questions of 'routines and freedoms' in the dichotomous discourse of modernity is risky. Routines and habits are essential to allow everyday life to go on. According to Wilk, they can be "best studied phenomenologically" (2009:147). In line with Bourdieu's notion of habitus, Wilk distinguishes between cultivation and naturalisation: cultivation "refers to the processes which bring unconscious habits and routines forward into consciousness, reflection and discourse…" whereas "naturalization describes the processes which push conscious practices back into the habitus" (2009: 149-150). On the other hand Slater argues that "the ethic framing of routines is central to the different ways in which routines are themselves constructed and then related to other practices" (2009: 217). Slater sees routines as performative processes where actors are essential in orienting routines towards a sense of ethics. As such routines are ethical navigation on strategies of self and other. Slater explores the diversity of

ethical framing that might emerge in the process of routinisation. He also points out that there is always a concern with the "quality" of experience (2009: 229).

If so-called 'traditional restaurants' are still waving the flag of 'banal nationalism', cafés, bistros and 'bar & grills' in contrast are embracing 'banal conviviality'. The local word *bajat* (boredom, typical, routine, led by frustration and a state of 'ennui') is often used to describe the banality associated with café culture. As discussed earlier, café culture is often perceived as *poverty packaged as modernity*. Banality is seen as routines, habits and "time-wasting" in a café, which in turn are effects of unemployment, *kullerizmi* and *sallamadi* (carelessness).

Making *makiato*

Café Boheme is situated in the first quarter leading to the centre of Pejton, among several other cafés and bars. This café opened in 2007 by two cousins who had previously worked in cafés and restaurants. It offers an extensive selection of sandwiches, salads, pastas and other hot dishes including chicken curry. As described in a quote above, Café Boheme is designed and decorated in a style that simulates contemporary cafés and bistros in Europe. In fact, as soon you walk inside you can recognised the mix of Café Rouge-like chairs and tables and *fin-de-siècle* photographs and gravures hanging in walls. The act of making a *makiato* is contemplated almost entirely through the use of senses. There is no normative and prescribed way of making *makiato*. You make *makiato* as it if was something that you did with your body rather than you mind. Let me illustrate this.

Fig. 27. Barista makiato making in *Boheme*

Flamur took his pitcher, filled it up with milk and started to steam it. The 18 oz. pitcher was filled up to the base of the machine nozzle. He started to swirl the pitcher around the nozzle and moved it several time up and down. The foam and the milk started to mix together. “You don’t need to separate them until you pour them into the cup,” said Flamur. Several times he put the tip of the nozzle at the surface of the milk. The foam was almost ready. He tapped the pitcher to get out the bubbles as no air was supposed to remain in the foam. He put the pitcher aside and pulled a double espresso shot. He filled the filter holder, an amount which he called *desert*, and pressed the filtering button. “If you want a good coffee you use one *desert* for one coffee.” As soon as the cup was filled with coffee he took the pitcher and did another small swirl, tapping it constantly to get the bubbles off. He touched the pitcher several times with his hand.
Then he poured the foam into the cup slowly and gently, using a small spoon to guide the pouring of the foam. The whole idea is to “mark the espresso”, not to make a frothy cappuccino.

His leaned with his body towards the cup as if he was making a filigree jewel, paying attention to the detail and putting his "self" into *makiato* making.

The technique of making *makiato* involves all senses. Several times baristas referred to the art of making *makiato*, which is a deeply embodied technique. You have to lean forward with your body, constantly feel the pitcher, look at the foam, and hear the noise of the nozzle in milk. No barista was able to describe the making of the milk into right foam for the *makiato*. When they used words they constantly referred to the feelings:

> You have to feel it, to make the right foam. You cannot make it by a recipe. You look at the foam, you feel the heat, you hear the noise of the nozzle, and you touch the jar constantly. (Flamur, Café Boheme)

To make the right *makiato* you have to have an embodied knowledge that is stored in the lived experience. Flamur constantly referred to '*makiato* masters' who have been making *makiatos* for a long time. Accordingly, to be a *makiato* master, you have to have the right sensuous skills that can be achieved only through an embodied experience. As Casey argued, "habitual body memories are also deeply orienting" (2000: 151). Without the capacity to remember as bodies, we could not remember in any other forms. In fact, Casey put it rightly: "there is no memory without body memory" (172). It can also be argued that the capital (Bourdieu, 1984) gained in making *makiato*, which refers to expertise, knowledge, techniques and values entailed in *makiato* making, is not possible without the crucial practice involving body memory and bodily practice.

Makiato makers emphasize several material, moral and practical aspects of making a good *makiato*. They judge, evaluate and criticize *makiato* making in Prishtina in relation to

competition, supply, taste, culture, tradition and youth. To illustrate their point of view on *makiato* I provide some quotes from interviews and conversations with makiato makers:

> It is about your customers. They are used to our *makiato*. We do not lie and cheat like most do nowadays. Other make up to 200 *makiato* from a kilo of coffee beans bought for 12 euros. We don't do that. We don't charge €0.50 for a *makiato* that is like mixing sand and milk. It is about keeping the trust. (Diar, barista, Café Boheme)

> Everything else is important…place, ambiance, people. But for those who know what *makiato* is, they appreciated the hand of the *shankist* (barman/barista0. You have to have the hand of it. Some people use the most expensive coffee but don't make good *makiato*.(Agon, barista, "Edi 2" café/restaurant).

> For me it is all about good coffee, such as Lavazza or Illy, and good hand. If you don't have a good quality coffee, you can be the best master in the world and it doesn't matter. *Makiato* will come out bad. (Dren, barista, "Qeveria" café)

> Our *makiato* here is not like in Italy. We say we are the best and we have tradition in this but we haven't been to taste the best Italian coffee. We may drink more than Italians and others in Europe; it doesn't make us the best. It would be good to have a competition and see. I think we wouldn't come first as like to think. (Trim, waiter, "Rings" restaurant)

Nowadays you have cafés everywhere. Everyone is in cafés all day long. People love coffee. This is great, but it has two effects, it has made coffee cheaper to drink and turned *makiato* into an excuse to stay in a café. Look at the student cafés around university. They are all 50 cent *makiato* cafés. Come on! (Dina, waiter, "Elida" café)

Makiato is everything in Kosova. Our economy, our education, our culture…everything, everything. People have become *t'pim* (numb) from *makiato* drinking. There are so many makiato: *me plum* [with large foam], *pa plum* (without foam) large, small, light, heavy and so on. (Xheti, barista, "C7" café)

Fig.28. Makiato making in "Ditë e Natë"

Making a good 'proper' *makiato* is valued as an art form that needs skill, experience and the right type of coffee beans.[159] Many café owners and baristas, as well as regular café customers refer to trust as the key factor in building a social and commercial relationship. In describing *makiato* making and consumption in Prishtina, my informants reflected heavily on the notions of society.

For them *makiato* is not just a coffee, but it is a symbolic act, an economic state of the country, and routinisation of life in urban context. *Makiato* drinking is referred to as a convivial practice and culture associated with current political, economic and social changes that are taking place in Kosova. As the quotes above suggest, *makiato* making and *makiato* drinking epitomise the current urban trend that has emergent in post-war Kosova. Kosovars are able to be visible, pass the time, routinise and appropriate modern social forms offered by café as an urban and democratic institution.

Personal status and hospitable moments

Albanians take pride in their hospitality and regard it as the 'essence' of their character. As I mentioned in chapter one, hospitality is rooted in the Kanun, the customary law and code of behaviour, where it clearly states that "The house of an Albanian belongs to God and the guest." In Kosova, the behaviour associated with Kanun is still common, and hospitality is cherished as one of the core Albanian values. In this aspect, hospitality gravitates around the idea of a 'pure' gift. Such a view of Albanian hospitality is promoted as an official representative discourse mainly by Albanian ethnologists and historians. In practice, as many anthropologists have been arguing, there is a complex moral economy of reciprocity involved in the notion of the gift

[159] There are several types of coffee sold in Prishtina. However, the most popular ones are Italian brands such as Lavazza and Illy.

(Mauss, 1954; Malinowski, 1922, 1926). However, the notion of Albanian hospitality (*mikpritja*) guides the current trend in the gastronomy.

When friends and relatives meet in the street, they greet each other, shaking hands, touching heads, touching each other shoulders and speaking out loud as if they have met after several years of not seeing each other. To meet someone in the street and not offer to go for a coffee is not that common in Pristina. To be 'good' is to be generous with others and to ensure that you treat them with respect by inviting them for a coffee. The invitation to go out for a coffee is the first act of symbolic exchange and recognition.

To invite someone for a coffee in Kosova is a sign of respect and a desire to converse about others, life and yourself. The act of inviting is a telephone call, an SMS message or face to face invitation. The act of invitation is almost always understood by both parties, the invitee and the invited, as an intentional act of gifting. The invitee ensures that his act of invitation is an essential opening to the 'event' of hospitability. The invitee hosts the event. He or she is the patron of the simulated 'host/guest' hospitality. As the act of eating and drinking out involved payment, the 'host' is 'obliged' to pay for the whole convivial event. Often you can witness occasions when people in a café engage in a 'quarrel' in an attempt to convince the other to pay the bill. This happens especially on occasions when people do not meet often and want to seize the 'hospitable event' in order to regenerate their personal status as generous, friendly, and powerful. This happened to me very often. I met many friends who introduced me to their friends and so on, increasing my network of informants. I experienced such a 'payment quarrel' almost every time during those '*makiato* sessions' or 'interviews' in cafés. Most of my informants always offered to pay for the coffees we had during our conversations in cafés about café culture. I tried to understand their intention as I grew up learning to behave according to the 'obligatory'

custom of hospitality. Often this became the subject of our conversations. According to most views expressed by my informants, the idea of insisting to pay for the coffee is rooted in traditional behaviour.

> We are used to this. The guest is essential to Albanian life. When you invite someone for a coffee, you are the host. You have to behave like a host. Sometimes people are so used to the idea of being a host that they don't understand that they can offend you by offering to pay all the time. Sometimes people do it because they want themselves be seen as hosts all the time. That's not fair. But, it is *left to us* (*na ka metë*)! (Naser, 48, art critic)

> It is a bit stupid. It is like people want to be grandpas in the café, paying for you, feeding you, advising you, treating you as a child. There must be reciprocity. It is usually *katunar* (village-rooted mentality) who don't know the level of reciprocity. They want to show how generous they are. It is intimidating for me. I know this mentality. But, no… When I go out with our friends, we pay in rounds. We need to get rid of this stupid tradition. (Shqipe, 32, shop assistant)

> We pay separately. Or as they say we pay *sllovenski* (Slovenian way) most of the time. Everyone pays for whatever they have. Sometimes, someone wants to go *shqiptarqe* ([Albanian way). We don't mind. They can afford it and want to treat us, why not. In our *shoqni* [friendship], we don't care. (Dren, 21, student)

As those quotes selected from informants from different backgrounds and ages shows, the act of 'honouring' the guest in café is appropriated and negotiated in terms of propriety of moral behaviour. The moral ideology of hospitality as passed down traditionally is contested and negotiated in various ways. As it is often quoted, the *sllovenski* way is often referred to as 'paying only for what you have consumed'. This is usually used by elderly informants who witnessed the practice during Yugoslav times, when Slovenians were supposedly distinct in their behaviour. "A Slovenian man always paid for himself, never for his comrades at the table,"' said one of my informants. As such the *sllovenski* way is contested as cold and alienating behaviour, associated mainly with those urbanites who want to show they are modernised. Nevertheless, often informants use such concepts as 'tactics' (De Certeau, 1984) to negotiate the practice of 'traditional hospitality' often permeating the social life of cafés. The paradigm of 'it is left to us' [*na ka metë*] is often reflected as a way of seeking refuge in the past (Reineck, 1991). However, such practice is contested and accepted at the same time (and often parodied) among younger generation who call the behaviour *shqiptarqe* (Albanian way) as an exotic practice that belongs only to those forever mortgaged to tradition.

Social and commercial manifestations of hospitality have been a subject of a growing interest recently (Lashley and Morrison, 2000; Molz and Gibson; 2007; Lugosi, 2007). Such research has challenged the management-oriented approach that conceptualises hospitality as a service transaction. In his recent approach, Lugosi (2008) argues that commercial hospitality research is concentrated mainly in host-guest exchanges and has neglected the guest-guest relations and exchanges. He maintains that apart from the rational manifestation of hospitality in commercial setting, there is also a meta-hospitality which what he calls a 'communitesque' form of hospitality, food, drink and entertainment experiences and exchanges between guests

themselves. In drawing from Turner's (1982) notion of existential or spontaneous 'communitas', Lugosi points out that "these experiences involve the production and consumption of food, drink and the offer of shelter, but they are fundamentally about the creation of a shared emotional space" (2008:114). Lugosi argues that "communitesque experiences may challenge, soften, negotiate, and disrupt socially constructed statuses without completely abandoning them. A communitesque experience involves a temporary sense of unity or sociality between individuals" (2008: 143).

In general, hospitality is argued to be a means to an end. It takes place between hosts and guests in the host's physical and symbolic space. It can serve to release differences in status and reinforce that difference at the same time (Sheringham and Daruvalla, 2007). Lugosi adopts a different stance. He argues that "such differences may no longer be principal factors that determine the nature of interaction between social factors" (2008: 114). According to him, "The issues of power and status that are so important in host-guest relations are not the same in guest-guest relations and their transformation of commercial hospitality venues into hospitable spaces"(2008: 142). The argument is that hospitability and hospitableness, practiced in the guest-guest relationships, are ephemeral in nature and barriers produced by social structures become porous in such hospitable relationships.

The mutual acts of conviviality and entertainment, such as invitations to visit a café, the act of offering food and drink, invitations to dance, and most engagements with the 'the place of hospitality' are also bodily engagements. The ways in which guests stand, sit, dance, walk through, move their bodies inside the servicescape, and the experiences of temporary , as well as so-called loyal, playful and emotional relationships, are crucial in constituting the place as a 'hospitable place'. Thus, a kinaesthetic approach (Tilley, 2008) is crucial to the study of

servicespace, and its 'communitesque' (Lugosi, 2008) and 'gustemological' (Sutton, 2010) nature.

Being *kull*

The casual visitor to Prishtina, will inevitably encounter people, especially young people, sitting in cafés. In summer, cafés extend their presence into the sidewalk, sometimes making it difficult for pedestrians to pass by. However, from May to October it seems that there are no pedestrians in Prishtina, as it is difficult to distinguish from casual pedestrians and cafégoers. This is the time when both *shaci* and *honi* [160] come from abroad to spend their time in Kosova. Although, other cities such as Prizren, Pejë, Gjilan, and Gjakovë are full of cafés, Prishtina is the final and most attractive destination for many diaspora tourists visiting Kosova. In 2012, the Ministry of Diaspora, organized various activities in different cities and towns in Kosova, under the slogan of 'Diaspora days' aiming to make Kosova more attractive for diaspora tourists. Many various sites visits including exhibitions, concerts, plays and shows, football competitions, commemoration ceremonies, and so on, are organised for the *bashkëatdhetarë* (a composite word from *bashkë* –'together' and *atdhe* – 'homeland') who come to spend their holidays in Kosova.[161]

Kosovars living abroad are the main drive of economic and social activities during summer. Almost the whole country is reorganised during summer, either to accommodate the diaspora or as a result of their visit. Through remittances and holidays, diaspora is an influential force in the local economy. As I discussed in chapter one, most diaspora visit Kosova at least

[160] The term *shaci* is a local term used to describe diaspora visitors coming from German-speaking countries. This derives from the German term of endearment, *schatz*, which means 'darling, honey'. The term *honi*, is the literal pronunciation of the English term of endearment, 'honey'. Locals hearing Kosovars in diaspora referring to their loved ones in their language use such teasing terms which often are meant to note their taste in 'conspicuous consumption'.

[161] There are several words used to describe diaspora tourists including words such as *mërgimtar, t'jashtmit*, and also diaspora.

once a year and, apart from the expenditures during their visit, they also remit to their families in Kosova. Almost all families in Kosova who are benefiters directly or indirectly of diaspora remittances organise their social activities in accordance with their holiday timetable. Weddings, engagement parties, holidays and even house building projects are scheduled to happen when diaspora return to visit their kin. Local furniture companies prepare their large showing rooms especially for the diaspora as most sales are expected during the summer season, often regarded as wedding season, due to the fact that most weddings happen in summer.[162] Restaurants, especially large hotel restaurants and traditional restaurants, take bookings for wedding receptions and various other social events. Music bands are usually booked to sing either inside restaurants inside Kosova or in the Albanian and Montenegrin seaside resorts where most Kosovar diaspora would spend their holidays. Fashion designers, fashion boutiques and fashion outlets are busy promoting their latest creativity and brand.

Fig.29. Taking a group 'selfie' in café @Kushtrim Canolli

[162] This is constantly confirmed by my wife who works as operations manager in her family furniture company. According to her, more than 70% of annual turnover happens during the summer season and diaspora customers comprise of more than 80%.

The young Kosovars and the second generation of Kosovars living abroad, who are mostly nationals in their host countries, are a crucial connection between local youth and global trends in pop culture. In maintaining their links with their parents' country/countries of origin, they foster new changes and are changed in the process of interaction. Choosing what to wear, how to present themselves, what music is 'in', how to relate to others through body language, what jokes are 'cool' and what are 'lame', how to situate themselves between what is considered 'traditional' and 'modern', how to negotiate and refuse normative behaviour and language, are all 'technologies of self' (Foucault, 1988) within which, the youth construct their identities. The notion of taste is embedded essentially in the notion of 'coolness'. The concept of 'coolness' forged the local concept of '*kull*' and '*kuller* (from English 'cool' and Albanian 'er' that signifies a status, hence *kuller* means 'a cool person'). Thus, someone who is *kull* is someone who has a 'cool' taste in consuming and reproducing ideas, practices and materialities through appropriating, negotiating and embodying global 'cultural capital' onto their local identity, on the one hand, and transgressing, transcending and negotiating local 'cultural capital'(Bourdieu, 1984). To use Thornton's (1995) term, the notion of *kull* is primarily constructed upon a 'subcultural capital' that is constructed as a distinct identity to the mainstream culture and against which an alternative response is created. In this sense, a *kull* identity was perceived as a negated identity brought together by Prishtina subcultural groups.

Although what is *kull* is still by and large a contested identity, the concept of *kuller* was immediately undermined as an identity rooted in mimicry, pretence and transgressive youth behaviour. The open-mindedness and civility enacted by young *kuller* is weighted against the associated light-headedness and carelessness. In local view, *kuller* has no moral dilemma and adheres to no moral conventional ideology when it comes to accepting, appropriating and

fostering new social relations. Yet, *kuller* also connotes a 'surrogate' identity performed as a detached, frustrated and escaping agent. The word became a derogatory category to refer to young people who behave according to what is commonly perceived as *kuller* 'capital'. 'He is a *kuller*/she is a *kullerkë* [female]" is something that you can hear almost everywhere, at home, at work, in the media and in cafés. When I ventured to discover the meaning of *kull* and *kuller*, I encountered various understandings, all pointing to different statuses. If *kuller* was used as a derogatory term, *kull* was a subcultural capital based in distinctive taste that was alternative to the mainstream taste.

I firstly heard the term immediately after the war, when I visited my family in Prishtina. Diaspora visitors, especially young people like me who went to study and work abroad referred to things using the word 'cool' (mainly those in the UK). This connoted almost always a taste statement: 'things as we do abroad'. In local context it transformed into a self-conscious 'sub-cultural capital' by which youth identified themselves. Yet, almost unanimously my informants agreed that to be *kull* means 'distinction in taste' and an 'open identity'. As I probed further into observations I realised that to have *kull* capital is not understood as an identity determined by education, economic background or any conventional 'structuring structure', it is mainly constructed around the techniques of presentation of self in everyday life (Goffman, 1954) and the coping tactics in navigation public space of everyday life (De Certeau, 1984). Also, one of the crucial aspects of being and not being *kull* is mediated, understood and experienced through the body.

Kull bodies in motion

As I mentioned, *kuller* as a discursive category has become a common and rather derogatory term to stereotypically see young people as imitating Western pop culture trends by performing in a transgressive behaviour, usually associated with café culture. This complicated figure has created a public and domestic hysteria amongst people in Kosova. It is used to gossip, denigrate, outcast and marginalise alternative and expressive youth identities. As I argued, its widespread use is related to the diaspora's bilingualism, global media consumption, new fashion culture, etc. It is mainly constructed upon 'inferiority' and 'symbolic denigration' permeating local rural-urban relationships. After the war, many refugees and other citizens from all over Kosova accommodated in Prishtina, putting pressure on the rather small socialist capital that had just come out of war. The rural behaviour, locally referred to as *katunar* [peasant rooted behaviour], was perceived as aberrant behaviour that did not fit in the cultural capital of Prishtina citizens who were more internationalised and *me kulturë* (the literal translation would be: cultured). The term *me kulturë* refers to people who are educated, speak foreign languages and portray some sense of 'new cultural identity' and share those global values. Therefore, to eliminate the risk of *katunar* gaining and penetrating the public sphere and cultural intermediaries, this subcultural capital invested in the practices of performativity. The closer you look into the practice of *kull*, the more it becomes a fragmented and contested 'thing'. It is contested mainly due to the fact that various groups, identities and practices have re-produced, re-distributed and re-performed *kull*.

Concomitantly, *kull* is attributed to the performative, the corporeal, and the material dimension of personality. To be *kull* is to engage corporeally with 'new taste' which is drawn by the ever-changing, generative capacity of *kull* capital, which in itself is a flexible and malleable

distinction accorded to changing consumption practices. Many of my informants made many statements about what cool meant but most of them accepted that *kull* is just what *kull* does. In our constant discussions, some of my informants constantly referred to *kull* as something that escapes strict categories. To them *kull* is a corporeal, bodily manifestation of taste, desire, passion, love, etc. always defined and perceived in the process of interaction with the others, changing and shaping change in the bodily-experienced relation to cafés. Both, cafés and *kull* bodies are co-constituted and shaped in the process of negotiation of *kull* and objectification of *kull* as an embodied process.

Prishtina is characterised by several districts that make up the 'archipelago' of cafés in the city. Developed since the early 1980s, those districts have constantly changed and evolved together with the city. The most well-known café districts are: *Te Qafa, Te Kaqa* [currently known as "*Te kafet e vogla*"] *Te Lesna, Te Ekonomiku, Te Pishat, Te Kimenaja, Te Sheshi, Te Tregu i Gjelbërt, Te Kurrizi, Te Pazari, Te Papilloni, Te Newborni, N'Pejton, Te Santeja, Te Restaurant Rugova, Te Bambuja.* Each district is either associated with a café, restaurant, landmark, or other public sites that make up the urban landscape of Prishtina. Most of those café districts are situated within the first city *unaza* (city ring road). They usually comprise several cafés adjacent to one another, mostly occupying the first floor of residential buildings in central streets. As I discussed in chapter one, most socialist residential/communal buildings in the centre of the city have been transformed into commercial spaces for local businesses. Some of the streets have become popular as café districts. For example, immediately after the war, one of the most well-known districts was "Te Kaqa" district named after the café/club called "Kaqa", featuring a large courtyard, which during the summer, becomes the main 'hanging out' place in

town. This area then was rapidly transformed into a café district, with many small cafés scattered across several juxtaposed labyrinthine streets. Then, it was renamed *Kafet e vogla* [small cafés].

The café districts of Prishtina have become geographies of *kull* people. Although restaurants and nightclubs are certainly ways of displaying *kull* taste, they are happening behind open doors. Cafés, on the other hand, are places where people can perform in front of the open doors. Such performances are constantly brought into critical discourse and debated vehemently in terms of proprieties and moral ideologies attached to general consumption, identity and behaviour in postwar context. However, in practice, they have become essential to uphold the social life of the city that otherwise is struggling to regenerate its resources to meet the needs of its citizens. As such, cafés have turned Prishtina from a socialist city characterised by the generic blandness of invisible socialist spaces, into a vibrant, dynamic and visible café city, aspiring to become the centre of café culture in the Balkans.

There is a decorative pattern in Prishtina cafés, most notably witnessed in plants and flowers. Most cafés decorate their patios and allotments with hanging baskets full of blooming flowers. When I asked café owners about the sudden trend to use flower baskets in cafés, most responded saying they wanted to ensure that they are not left out of the current change happening around them. One of my informants mentioned that some cafés near the "Te Pishat" café district were the first ones to start decorating their patios to look like cafés in Europe. In my many visits to this café district I witnessed a florist in the street, who was displaying similar flower baskets outside. In my conversation with one of the staff, she told me that they sell a lot of flowers now since some of the café owners who worked abroad wanted to enhance their café's appearance to resemble European cafés. Also, café owners were keen to emphasise their intention to create little 'oases' in Prishtina. In the last couple of years, the local government invested in improving

public squares, parks and local road infrastructure. The two major public squares were renovated, thousands of trees were imported from Italy and planted in the parks, streets and squares, and hundreds of thousands of flowers were also planted to provide pleasing view and fresh air. As enterprises leading the initiative for a more pleasant 'servicescape' (Hall et al, 2010), cafés have also been the primary invitation to Prishtina's 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 1990) as well as to local residents' gaze.

Prishtina cafés prompt a 'placial' (Tilley, 2008:17) relationship with them. In having a 'placial' relationship with cafés, people become part of the place and in this sense they construct their identities. In this process of objectification, where places make people and people make places, both cafés and people frequenting them construct their agency characterised by bodily experience. When I asked my informants to elaborate the 'body relationship' to cafés, they pointed out to the way in which people sit, stand, talk, gather, dance, and walk around cafés. Sitting freely and loosely on chairs, putting the hand over the back of the chair, stretching the legs, talking loudly, are common 'placial' relationships with the café, the physical and social atmosphere. Cafés became territorialised places. This is witnessed in the café landscape and in the café district. Inside cafés, customers were keen to get 'their table', have a 'good view', sit in the terrace, occupy the large front table, and so on. The 'placial' relationship was crucial in legitimation of the 'place' as their regular café.

Recently, many cafés are designed to be 'hip' and 'kull', accommodating the taste of a cultural subgroup associated with the café owners or their network of friends. Drin, a friend of mine, who was deported from the UK, opened a café with the intention to use it as a late bar/club as well. The café was designed to look similar to the *Planet Hollywood* café in London, where he had worked for a while. After several months, he decided to change the appearance and service

in the café. He told me that he discussed design ideas with many customers and some of their friends who are well-known in the local pop culture. He also ensured that he plays the right music, hangs the right posters and that his café reflects the current hip-hop influenced subculture in Prishtina. In his words, the café needed to get the status of *te veni* (at the place). *Te veni* is a local term referring to cafés where people meet regularly to have coffee, discuss and organise meetings. The relationship is symbolic, embedding notions of cultural capital associated with different subcultural groups (Thornton, 1995). Yet, this relationship is constituted primarily through the experience of *neja* [long staying and chilling in café]. To be able to engage in *neja,* one ought to feel comfortable and engage in a synaesthetic, which is always a body-oriented, relationship with the place. The café becomes a *te veni* only when regulars create the café in the process of objectification where both the café and people are reconstituted as identities.

The ambient conditions, the placial layout, and the functionality of servicescape ought to facilitate the experience of comfort, status, privacy and interaction (Hall, et al, 2010). According to Finkelstein (1989) the restaurant is intentionally constructed to shape our response. In fact, she accords everything to restaurant intentionality, leaving no agency for the customers. This is theoretically assumed view, based on Finkelstein's theoretical commitment, rather than on empirical evidence that flows from thick description, dialogical approach and sensuous ethnography (Pink, 2009; Beriss & Sutton, 2007; Sutton, 2010; Tilley, 2004, 2008, 2009). Firstly, the first argument that counteracts Finkelstein's notion of restaurants as 'diorama' is her own categorisation of restaurants in terms of differentiation on solely restaurant intentionality. Secondly, when observing restaurants and cafés, customer agency is essential to take into account. Theorising 'dining out' by dismissing the role of diners entirely as passive and irrelevant omits the whole philosophy of restaurant. Such theoretical views that appear as

scratching only the surface do lead to the view that material culture is repressive, view which has been challenged in last decades (Tilley, 2006a; Miller, 1987).

Conclusion

As I discussed earlier, cafés have an important role to play in the social and political dimension organised in public life. However, as places that serve food and drink, cafés are also relevant as sensory places. In fact, it is through our senses and our sensorial experience that we appropriate, negotiate, and value time and activity taking place within such eating 'third places'. As such, restaurants have been argued to be architectures of our desire to condition and shape our emotional reactions according to restaurant intentions. Finkelstein's study of eating out is also one of the main substantial accounts on the subject. She devotes the whole book to the restaurant's history and the behavioural manners whilst eating out in modern society. Her main argument is that eating out is "a constraint on our moral development"(1989: 5), and the materiality and social agency of the restaurant frames our emotions and behaviour in order to create a soothing atmosphere which in turn relieves us from "the social responsibility" and "weakens our participation in the social arena" (1989: 5).

Finkelstein attributes variation in experience almost entirely to the agency of the venue, whose conventions then structure our behaviour, without leaving any room for the appropriation, creativity and response of the customers. She claims that the type of restaurants, the ambience, and the décor of the restaurant determine customers' actions, assuming that almost everyone shares a common understanding, feeling and subjectivity of the nature of the place visited. Finkelstein almost entirely rules out any participation and creative action on the behalf of the

customers and visitors. Thus, her approach is reductive and brackets the social action according to structural conventions and underlying govermentality.

To sum up, by emphasising the controllability of the restaurant, Finkelstein provides a critique of dining out by somehow requiring that the diner becomes a philosopher and escapes Plato's cave. If we follow this line of argument, the diner or the cafégoer is left hopeless in the restaurant stuffing himself/herself up without any possibility to affect the "ontology" of eating and drinking in such places. When the diner subscribes to a dining event the obligation to explore its meaning is faded and, according to Finkelstein, this is the price we pay for the "fashionability of an event". Finkelstein criticises the material settings and the *presence* this materiality creates as constraining and repressing. She adheres to materialistic determinism by humiliating the creative power things and materiality have in shaping the social action and activity in the process of objectification (Tilley, 2006b; Miller, 1987).

Much of the anthropological research on restaurants has neglected the role of the embodied and sensuous experience. Finkelstein's study of restaurants (1989) excludes customer capacity to generate sociality. Warde & Martens (2000) concentrate their findings in the choices and patterns of behaviour in relation to meaning and value attached to eating out. The ethnographically-rich study of cooking in restaurant kitchen conducted by Fine (1996) concentrates only on the kitchen, excluding what goes on in dining room and beyond. His work, although insightful, only strengthens the dualism of cooking and eating in restaurant studies. The recent ethnographies of restaurants edited by Beriss & Sutton (2007) pave the way for the study of restaurants as 'microcosms' inviting sensory and phenomenological approaches in general.

As I have tried to show in this chapter, café culture is associated with frivolity and banality as well as conviviality and sociality. In the concomitant exchange of *makiato*, Kosovars

are making themselves into ‘newborn’ Europeans, working to join the world of other nation-states as an independent country. Although Kosovars are concerned about the role of cafés as cause of ‘informality’, they are constantly engaging with cafés as places where they can display themselves, their bodies and their social status. Through their ambivalent relationship with their new café culture they are constantly shaping the way in which they relate to themselves, to others and to the world.

CHAPTER VI:

Conclusion

The aim of this dissertation has been to provide a phenomenologically led and dialogically conducted observation and analysis of restaurants and food culture in Kosova. It has been guided by an endeavour to answer the main research question: how do restaurants shape food culture in Kosova and how, in turn, does this culture construct, reproduce, and negotiate modes of identification and social statuses in the Kosovar public realm. After 1999 war in Kosova, restaurants have emerged as new places, privately public and publicly private, displaying local aspirations and intentions to re-invent 'roots' of tradition, construct 'routes' to Europe and modernization, and provide 'routines' for social life and conviviality. Thus, restaurants as material, social and culinary sites enable local engagement with different modes of identification (MacClancy, 2007) which are intrinsically linked to gastronationalism, culinary diversity, morality, and civility. As new postsocialist consuming places, restaurants are also perceived as new 'culture' in Kosova. Particularly noticeable is that those new places are being appropriated mainly by young adults, who, although are short of disposable income in the economically underdeveloped Kosova, find ways, means and tactics of exercising their "civility" and "normalcy" in public spaces. The emergence of this 'new culture' has elicited discomfort and criticism from many Kosovars. Although, as I argued in chapter 1, public eating and drinking is not new in Kosova, its movement from discrete *çajtore* (tea tavern) and *gjellëtore* (stewplace) in relatively invisible 'off roads' spaces into new public realm is a significant departure from previous practices. Thus, restaurants have become entities that evoke discussion about both, the comforting aspects of their status as places that provide normalcy and civility and discomforting

aspects of their "mushrooming" after the war triggering questions and criticism about their propriety and morality.

In this dissertation I have tried to show that it may not be possible to think of the new Kosovar foodscape, and the gastronomic and culinary fields, without contemplating restaurants, cafés, bakeries and other eating out venues. It may not be possible to observe the urban landscape in Kosova without contemplating restaurant and café culture. Neither it is possible to discuss public behaviour nor community life without bringing into account the role of restaurants and cafés. For, the very openness of these food and drink settings, reveals as much as obscures the nature of a civilized life being developed and practiced in Kosova. Accordingly, the main argument of this dissertation is that restaurants are "places" that objectify the current social life in Kosova related to modes of identification, conviviality, morality and (in) civility.

In this aspect, this dissertation is a presentist anthropological inquiry into change and social relations in everyday life in Kosova. As an anthropology of material culture in postsocialist context, this dissertation analyses food culture as practiced in eating out context by examining the ways in which restaurants as agents shape taste, cuisine, food, eating and drinking patterns, meanings, choices and identities. In turn, I examine and analyse how those identities are negated, negotiated and appropriated by local people. I examine the role of tradition and change in the construction of new modes of identification that are constantly shaped by ideas, practices and processes of change, in the process of objectification of local food culture. The dissertations seeks to contribute to an understanding of broader concerns within food and eating out culture in general and postsocialism and restaurants in particular and to ascertain their engagement with social and cultural change.

In chapter one I provide the scene to put forward my research questions for this dissertation. I attempt to account for the significance of restaurants in shaping food culture and, in turn, providing a useful view of changes that have taken place in postwar Kosova. I start by describing the importance of restaurants in constructing the new Kosovar gastronomy. Then I move to describing the relevance of the past in the present, which remains an important topic in anthropology of Kosova and Balkans in general. I also analyse the role of ideology and myth in the construction of history of Kosova and the ways in which history has been used and abused to forge ideologies, mainly nationalism. I argue that myth and ideology have been a major source of political and national imagination for Serbs and to a lesser extent Albanians, too. I provide arguments that history has served as an 'adjudicator' of ideas, practices, and rights and as a result wars were launched in the name of historical claims propagated by ideologues and radical nationalists. I provide a critical view of the popular "images" of Kosova as propagated in Albanian and Serbian consciousness. I argue that Albanians use the ancient past to claim legitimacy over the territory, whereas Serbs use their medieval history, imbued by myth and ideology. Then, I move on to provide a short analysis of Ottoman legacy and heritage in Kosova. My intention here is to show that critical historiography has provided different interpretations of the role of Ottoman Empire in Balkans in general and Kosova in particular. I attempt to show that the local historiography that portrays Ottoman Empire as backward is challenged by recent critiques based on research evidence that reveals the 'effects' of Ottoman Empire in the constitution of what is often appropriated as 'tradition'. Critical history suggests that Balkan historiography is highly ideological in portraying the role of Ottoman Empire during its ruling centuries. Although, there is evidence that Ottomans strengthened their presence by military violence, there is also evidence of their legacy materialized mainly in food, architecture, religion,

etc. Similarly, I describe the ways in which food, diet and eating out in general was conducted during Yugoslav socialism which built around the ideas of self-management, Tito cult and consumer culture. I provide arguments that socialist endeavour to create the "new man" who would embody and display modern habitus, were extended to food, foodways, and food systems, too. The pursuit of culinary modernization was promote in Kosova in form of "practical emancipatory advice" through media and education system. Yet, I argue that "restaurant culture" in Kosova was considered as conspicuous consumption associated mainly with socialist *nomenklatura*, as public and state restaurants were visited primarily by those working for the state. Pre-socialist eateries such as *gjellëtore* were common places for the general public and they thrived under socialism, too. As such, they also shared, produced and appropriated various ingredients, techniques and practices during socialism. Ottoman forms and practices endured during socialism.

I chapter two, I provide an analysis of literature, mainly anthropological, that has informed my understanding of history, theory, approaches and methodology necessary to conduct research and to write this dissertation. This chapter reviews anthropological standpoint in relation to food, cooking, eating and the social life of food. I acknowledge and reflect on literature on food as culture, food and globalization, food, identity, and gender, food and memory, food and the body, food and place, food and sense, and food, migration and tourism. I find relevant threads of arguments that enable me to construct my own approaches and arguments in my research. Anthropology of food is becoming a vast discipline that engages in debate about the role of food in our society. Food riots, food risks, food ideologies are intrinsically linked to poverty, global economy, the nature of national state policies, international associations and local movements. However, anthropology of food is mainly interested in the

cooking, serving and eating process that permeate social life today. In this context, the debate about places where we eat aims to balance the focus of the discipline. Yet, very little attention is still paid to restaurants and kitchens. In this chapter I review the limited anthropological and sociological scholarship on restaurants and try to argue that anthropology can only gain from ethnographic observation of restaurants as 'third places' where people spend a lot of their time. I criticize some approaches (Finkelstein, 1989) that restrict their analysis to restaurants as only "constrains to moral development". This view entirely rules out any participation and creative action on the behalf of the customers and visitors. I argue that this approach is reductive and brackets the social action according to structural conventions, as the only resource for such argument is to an explanation in terms of subconscious manipulation.

In this chapter I also review the literature on Balkan food and postsocialist foodways with a particular focus in Kosovar ethnological literature. I argue that anthropology is still a misunderstood discipline in Kosova and highlight many obstacles that it currently faces. Further on, I describe the difficulties and opportunities of doing anthropology at home. For me, the main test for an anthropologists conducting research in his home country is the test of banality, distancing and patience. As soon as this test is passed and anthropologists may be well on his way to succeed in conducting his research and writing his text. In this chapter I do also reflect on my approaches and methodology.

In chapter three, I describe and discuss the ways in which tradition is displayed, performed and objectified in restaurants which are considered "traditional". Tradition is performed in the process of traditionalizing and reinventing local iconic dishes that are usually transformed and negotiated in taste and presentation, to fit to the 'culinary tradition and style' of the owners and chefs who are engaged in standardization of Kosovar gastronomy and what I call

'sofraization' of Kosovar cuisine. I argue that both, banal gastronationalism and culinary diversity, are objectified as ways of coping with change in postwar Kosova. Restauranteurs mix,, combine, and diversify their dishes aiming to re-present the Kosovar traditional cuisine. The repetition, standardization, rutinization, characterized by this 'emerging mixing process' make possible the territorialization, de-territorialization and re-territorialization of Kosovar cuisine. Sofraization of cuisine connotes openness, inclusiveness and diversity as well as particularity, distinctiveness and sameness. The experience of Kosovar food and Kosovar cuisine served in restaurants is objectified in this complex process of traditionalizing, modernizing and diversifying Kosovar cuisine. Thus, the 'Kosovar cuisine' is still under construction. Kosovar gastronomy, however, is undergoing a rapid change and transformation characterised by the process of searching, inventing, combining and re-vitalizing the culinary and gastronomic spheres. Different past and present horizons are blurred in the 'synaesthetic landscape' the restaurants, evoking memories, re-presenting and modelling events and experiences, and objectifying 'locality' and 'authenticity'. I also argue that restaurants are becoming objectifications of what I call *katunopia*, a fantasy place for diaspora and urban alienation where *katun* (village) life can be consumed. In this chapter I also analysed the ways in which diaspora migrants experience the restaurant culture, as well as how restaurants serve as "sites" for almost all special occasions. Through a case study of a wedding event I argued that restaurants are becoming "traditional" and "modern" examples of how locals perceive as their shortcutting journey to Europe.

In chapter four, I turn to 'fast food' culture and analyse the local understanding and experience of fast food and fast food service. I discuss fast food in relation to common local practice of quick service which is typical of *gjellëtore* (stewplace). I do also analyse the coping

strategies and local responses to an increasing significance of 'good quality' food, known as 'katun' food. In this chapter I provide a view of choices and meanings of eating out in fast food restaurants and argue that Kosovars are ambivalent about 'fast food' service. On one hand, they appropriate American and European 'fast food' practices and techniques, and on the other hand, seek to source, serve and eat fresh, tasty and traditional *katun* food even in their small local gjellëtore. Local restauranteurs mimic and appropriate American forms, especially forms that compensate for the lack of McDonald's in the country. This is perceived with admiration by many locals who understand 'modernisation' of food and gastronomy as directly connected to appropriation of European ideas, forms and practices. In this chapter I also provide a backdrop to politics of food. I argue that food has become an essential tool of political discourse in Kosova, where all parties, including government and NGOs promote 'local products' to build the capacities of the country, claiming credit or pushing forward their ideologies.

I chapter five I analyse café culture. When I went to Prishtina to do my fieldwork, after many years of studying and working in London, I was astonished to see the spread of cafés in the city and an invigorating social life in and around cafés. *Makiato* is one of the most popular drinks in Prishtina and maybe in Kosova. What happened in cafés? How did eating and drinking there, as well as other social activities shape the community life, as well as social and cultural life of city? In this chapter I addressed those questions carefully and placed café culture into the context of public sphere, civility, morality and propriety. I show that Prishtina cafés play a crucial role in the social life of the city. Cafés are essential material and social sites of community life as well as places were local 'public sphere' is articulated. I show how cafés provide space for the construction of subcultural capital associated with youth, urbanism and local cultural scenery. This chapter provides evidence that Prishtina youth are constantly seeking ways of displaying

their modes of identification with what is perceived as 'Western culture' in a process of differentiation and separation as well as inclusion and negotiation. I argue that although cafés may seem to impose a certain behaviour, as Finkelstein (1989) argues, young people are constantly recreating and negotiating their cultural (and subcultural) capital in relation to the dynamics of café culture. The relationship between cafés and young people is not one-dimensional. It is rather an objectification process through which both cafés and people are making themselves as Argonauts (in a Malinowskian sense) seeking to be seen.

'Third places', such as restaurants and cafés, may not be generating creativity as much as gardens do, due to the fact they differ in their capacity to allow for creativity, which is in their intrinsic nature as material things: restaurant materiality is public and also more static then the private garden materiality which can grow and has biological life (Tilley, 2008). Yet, 'third places' are places in-between home and gardens, private and public, home and work, social and political, concrete and biological. Cafés and restaurants have gardens, patios with flowers, fruit trees, sometimes animals such as cats and dogs roaming around. In Kosova, until recently, several suburban restaurants had mini-zoos with various animals attracting large crowds of predominantly young people. Animals gave birth and their offspring were raised in the zoo. I came across many people visiting the zoo frequently as their children had befriended certain animals. They had named them, were constantly feeding them, and the animals became their best friends. The restaurant was thus constantly changing, growing and allowing for creative agency.

At best, this dissertation is an ethnography of restaurants in postsocialist context. As I mentioned above, I aim to identify and examine the changes that influence the shape of culture of eating out, and to reflect on several questions: what happens in kitchens, dining rooms, gardens, salons, and terraces of restaurants in a 'newborn' Kosova state? How do those places

become “sites” of sociality, conviviality, and identity performance? How is cuisine re-invented, constructed and narrated? What ‘modes of identification’ (MacClancy, 2004) are challenged, displayed and expressed? By analysing the social life of food, this dissertation aims to also challenge the trend in research regarding Balkans as research topics for studies of ethnicity, ethnic conflict and ancient hatred and political ideologies. This can be witnessed even when food is mentioned: “The Balkans never cooked up anything but wars!” (Mirodan, 1987: 8). Although there are hundreds of monographs on historical, political, and economical aspects of Balkans, there isn’t a single ethnographic monograph, in English, on food and/or eating out culture in Balkans. Yet, food is argued to be one of the best ways of exploring postsocialist change (Caldwell, 2005; Nestle, 2009).

Although anthropology of food is increasingly visible in the recent decades, the corpus of anthropological research on restaurants is still limited (see Beriss & Sutton, 2007). Restaurants are still studied as sideways of anthropology of food and sociology of labour and work (Spradely & Man, 1975; Mars & Nikod, 1984; Paules, 1991), with only few examples of ethnography of restaurant kitchens where food is cooked, served and eaten (Fine, 1996). Thus, this research aims to contribute to the general study of restaurants as primary social, material, culinary and synaesthetic sites, in themselves. It tries to concentrate in cooking, serving and eating and their interconnectedness in construction of ‘restaurant’ status as a social, material and sensorial experience.

As I note in chapter two, I haven’t designed any questionnaires to conduct surveys of eating out patterns that are usual in sociological evaluation of diets (Warde, 2010). I proceeded to engage with visceral and metaphorical understanding of food and eating out in restaurants through a phenomenological observation of experience as objectified in events, routines,

occasions and habits. Phenomenology can lead you anywhere and may orient you in different directions especially when studying restaurants. Yet, I ensured that I engage in conversations and dialogue with cooks, servers and diners and all those I met, befriended and knew during my research. I supplemented this by bracketing my own experience of cooking and eating in restaurants. The restaurants I studied were supplied with food from several different sources that prove difficult to follow and may add 'research burden' for the ethnographer. Yet, I extended my participant observation outside of restaurant scene.

In this dissertation I also conducted my research of restaurants as convivial and gustemic topographies of local foodscape. Although the discussion of my research findings could be structured to different criteria and in different ways, I paid more attention to restaurants as places where cooking, eating and socializing are foregrounded. Economic and labour organization of restaurants may also provide useful insights into the operational aspects of restaurant industry. Yet, as I argued in my literature review chapter, restaurants are foremost 'culinary and social sites' that materialize social relations that happen in restaurants and beyond. For they embody and objectify similarities and differences, differentiations and distinctions, cultural capital and "banal conviviality", values and norms, identities and memories, and so on. Although, the focus of the three main chapters may appear as based on restaurant classification, they are not driven by my own classification and categorisation as a way of proving or implying social structures and social hierarchies associated with production, consumption or conviviality entailed in foodscape. The local dynamics of restaurant and eating out culture have themselves provided such accumulative and at the same time concentric graded sense of place.

Chris Tilley argues that 'the literary turn in anthropology in which ethnographies become just forms of writing has undoubtedly encouraged an involuted style of thinking which, rather

than encouraging a meaningful encounter with landscapes, has operated as a means of escape from them' (2008: 266). He continues to argue for an approach that allows the body to mediate the encounter with landscapes, in order 'to re-present it in a fresh way' (2008: 266). Although Tilley acknowledges the irony that the text produced by sensual experience of landscape is in itself a representation, the 'aim of phenomenological analysis is to produce a fresh understanding of place and landscape through the evocative thick linguistic description stemming from our carnal experience' (2004: 30). Accordingly, Tilley also suggests that lived experience mediated by our body and a 'concentric graded sense of place' (29) we can explores meanings attached to and evoked by various places.

The 'concentric graded sense of place' may also be essential to the study of restaurants. Methodologically, you place your self within the practice of cooking in restaurant and it concentrically allows (enforces and guides!) you to explore the restaurant landscape that extends much more beyond the kitchen and the dining area. This can be extended the informants, too. In my case, as I grew into the fieldwork, I realised that informants were concentrically experiencing (as well as talking about!) three sites of culinary, gustemic and social differentiation, around which the three main chapters are developed. Yet, the concentric sense of place, from my ethnographic point of view, and the concentric sense of place from informant's point of view became intricately folded and blurred. On the one hand, it became apparent that restaurants are "intentional agents" that allow space for different modes of identification. In this context, restaurants and cafés, attempt to materialize the gastronomic and gustemological sense of hierarchy using various strategies and tactics, such as décor, dish naming, service, etc. On the other hand, diners experience the selected and staged restaurant *mise-en-scene* in the same way restauranteurs intend it. Nevertheless, this argument runs the risk of always already being

challenged by new evidence. Choices, reasons, and patters of eating out are always changing and never uniform. Customer behaviours, demands, expectation and meaningful experiences can be unexpectedly expected and expectedly unexpected. But, extensive fieldwork, as I have strived to conduct for this dissertation, shows that restaurants can be argued to have 'concentric' agency around them. This is the 'thereness' of the restaurant, as I argued in chapter 5.

In the constant urbanization and globalization of the world, restaurants 'can define urban landscapes, reflecting and shaping the character of neighbourhoods or even the reputation of whole cities and regions' (Beriss & Sutton, 2007: 3). In forging a theoretician standpoint for globalization restaurants have been used as key examples. George Ritzer claimed that the world is becoming a subject of what he called 'MacDonalization' (1992). He used a restaurant to assert the homogenization of production and consumption at the end of the 20th century. Others have used different food products to argue similar cases. Restaurants have also been used to argue the contrary: what is called localization or glocalization of culture. James Watson (1997) edited book *Golden Arches East* provides empirical evidence to suggest that McDonalds in Far East are experienced contrary to the theoretically assumed claims of George Ritzer. The book challenges MacDonalization as homogenization. Researchers highlight that Chinese children love McDonalds and think of them and the food served there as being "local".

The research in food production, consumption and exchange in postsocialist context highlights various aspects of continuity and change with the socialist paradigm (Caldwell, 2009). In the Kosovar context, the rapid spread of restaurants and the practices of eating out are understood and experienced as a cultural shift associated with change in modernity, morality, politics, economy and taste. In local views, the changing foodscape in Kosova is expressed as being the best illustration of 'changing things'. One of the elements that illustrates this change is

also characterized as “food change” to mean change in substance and taste of food. Thus, it is common to witness that, locally, food is categorized and classified in relation to different, and sometimes contradictory, categories such as freshness, health, taste, nationalism and nostalgia.

Bibliography

Abarca, M. E. (2006), *Voice in the Kitchen: Views of Food and the World from Working Class Mexican and Mexican American Women*, Texas: A&M University Press

Adanir, F. & Faroqhi, S. (eds) (2002), *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography,* Leiden: Brill

Ajeti, I (1990), 'Disa emërtime popullore shqiptare të gjellëve e të ushqimit të pare në vështrim gjuhësor" në *Studim etnografik i ndryshimeve bashkëkohore në kulturën popullore shqipare; material nga sesioni shkencor i mbajtur në Prishtinë më 7 dhe 8 dhjetor 1989,* Prishtinë.Instituti Albanologjik i Prishtinës

Akan-Ellis, B. (2003) *Shadow genealogies: memory and identity among urban Muslims in Macedonia,* California, University of California Press

Albala, K. (2009), 'Series foreword' in Hagen, R. (2009), *Food culture in Pacific Islands*, California: Greenwood Publishing Group

Albala, K. (2011), *Food Cultures of the World Encyclopedia*, CA: ABC-CLIO

Albala, K. (2013), *Routledge International Book of Food Studies*, London: Routledge

Allen, S (2006), *The Devil's Cup: Coffee: the Driving Force In History.* Edinburgh: Canongate Books.

Anderseen, A. (2002), *Transformin Ethnic Nationalism: The Politics of Ethnonationalistic Sentiments among the Elite in Kosovo*, Oslo: University of Oslo

Anderson, B. (2006) *Imagined communities* 3rd edn, London: Verso

Anderson, E.N. (2005), *Everyone Eats: Understanding Food and Culture*, New York: New York University Press

Anderson, D. (2000), 'Fieldwork and the "doctoring" of National Identities in Arctic Siberia' in De Soto, H.G. & Dudwick, N. (eds) (2000), *Fieldwork Dilemmas: Anthropologists in Postsocialist States*, Winsconsin: University of Wisconsin Press,

Anholt, S. (2010), *Places: Identity, Image and Reputation*, NY: Palgrave

Ante, A. (2010), *Statebuilding and Development: Two sides of the same coin? Exploring the Case of Kosovo,* Hamburg: Disserta Verlag

Appadurai, A. (1995), *Modernity at Large*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Appadurai, A. (1988), "How to make a national cuisine: cookbooks in contemporary India". *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30 (1): 3-24

Appadurai, A. (1996), *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Appelbaum, R. (2011), *Dishing it Out: In Search of Restaurant Experience*, London: Reaktion Books

Arizpe, L. (ed), (1996) *The Cultural Dimensions of Global Change: An Anthropological approach,* Paris: UNESCO

Argyrou, V. (1996) *Tradition and Modernity in Mediterranean: The Wedding as Symbolic Struggle*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Ashkenazi, M. (2003), *Food Culture in Japan*, Contributors, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press

Avieli, N. (2012), *Rice Talks: Food and Community in a Vietnamese Town*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press

Ayora-Diaz, S. I. (2012), *Foodscapes, Foodfields and Identities in Yucatán*, New York: Berghahn Books

Backer, B. (2003), *Behind Stoned Walls: Changing Household Organization among Albanians of Kosova*, Peja: Dukagjini (Edited by Robert Elsie and Antonia Young, with an introduction and photographs by Ann Christine Eek). This was originally submitted as masters thesis to Institute of Social Anthropology at University of Oslo, Norway in 1979

Bagnall, G. (1996), "Consuming the past", in K. Hetherington & A. Warde, (eds), *Consumption Matters: The production and experience of consumption*, Oxford and Cambridge, MA. Blackwell Publishers, pp.227 – 247

Bakić-Hayden, M. (2004), 'National Memory as Narrative Memory: The Case of Kosovo', in Todorova, M. (ed.), *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory,* London: Hurst

Balibar, E., (1991), 'The nation form: history and ideology' in *Race, Nation, Class*, ed. by Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, pp. 86-106. London: Verso

Ballinger, P. (2007),'Beyond the "New" Regional Question? Regions, Territoriality, and the Space of Anthropology in Southeastern Europe' in *Ethologica Balkanica*, Vol.11, 59-77

Banac, I. (2006), 'Is it true that Tito's Yugoslav policies favoured Albanians in Kosova?'in Di Lellio, A. (ed.),*The Case for Kosova: Passage to Independence*, London: Anthem Press

Barham, E. (2003), 'Translating terroir: the global challenge of French AOC labelling' in *Journal of Rural Studies* 19, 127-138

Barham, E., D. Lind, and L. Jett (2005), 'The Missouri Regional Cuisines Project: Connecting to place in the restaurant. In Urban place: Reconnecting with the natural world, ed. P. F. Barlett, 141-172. Cambridge: MIT Press. (Second printing 2007)

Barber, N. & Scarcelli, J. M. (2009), 'Clean restrooms: how important are they to restaurant Consumers?. *Journal of Foodservice*, 20: 309–320

Bernson, A. (2011), *The Social Space of The Café: How Service and Physical Design Condition Social Performances*, BA dissertation, Wesleyan University, The Honors College

Barth. F (1969) Introduction. In Barth F (ed) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. Waveland Press: 9 – 38

Bardhoshi, N. (2011), *Gurtë e kufinit*, Tiranë: UET Press

Barthes, R. (1979), 'Towards a Phycology of Contemporary Food consumption' in Forster, R. & Ranum, Or. (eds) *Food and Drink for History: Selection from Annale*s, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press

Barsegian, I. (2000), 'When Text Becomes Field: Fieldwork in "Transitional" Societies' in De Soto, H.G. & Dudwick, N. (eds) (2000), *Fieldwork Dilemmas: Anthropologists in Postsocialist States*, Winsconsin: University of Wisconsin Press,

Bauman, Z. (1992), *Culture as Praxis*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Bauman, Z. (1998), *Globalization: The Human Consequences*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Beardsworth, A. Haslam, C., Keil, T, Goode, J. Sherratt, E. (1999), Contemporary nutritional attitudes and practices: A factor analysis approach, *Appetite*, 32 (1) 127–143

Beck, U. (2002), 'The Cosmopolitan Society and Its Enemies, in *Theory, Culture and Society*, 19, 1. 17-44

Beck, U. (1992), *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, London: Sage
Beha, A. (2012), 'Statebuilding in Kosova: Stuck in the mud' in *Journal of Conflict Transformation and Society*, Vol 2, Nr. 2: 180-203
Bell, D. and Valentine, G. (eds) (1997), *Consuming Geographies: We Are What We Eat,*London: Routledge
Belasco, W. (2002), 'Food Matters: Perspectives on an Emerging Field' in Belasco, W. & Scranton, P. (eds), *Food Nations: Selling Taste in Consumer Societies*. New York and London: Routledge
Belasco, W. (2008) *Food: The Key Concepts*, Oxford: Berg
Beriss, D. and Sutton, D. (ed) (2007), *The Restaurant Book; Ethnographies of Where We Eat*, Berg, Oxford and New York
Berdahl, D. & Bunzl, M. & Lampland, M. (eds) (2000), *Altering States: Ethnographies of Transition inEastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, Michigan: The University of Michigan
Bernard, H. R. (2006), *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, Oxford: Altamira Press
Bessiere, J. (1998) 'Local Development and heritage: Traditional food and cuisine as tourist attraction in rural areas' in *Sociologia ruralis*, Vol 38 (1): 21-34
Bhabha, H. (1994), *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge
Billig, M. (1995) *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage.
Blank, G. (2007)Critics, Ratings, and Society: The Sociology of Reviews, Maryland, Roman and Littlefield Publishers
Blant, B.K (2008), 'Secret, Powerful, and the Stuff of Legends: Revisiting theories of Invented Tradition' in *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies XXVIII*, 1(2008):175-194
Blumi, I. (2006) 'Is Kosova a late creation of Yugoslav state and should it be considered the cradle of the Serb nation?' in Di Lellio, A. (ed) *The Case for Kosova: Passage to Independence*, London: Anthem Press
Bonafice, P. (2003), *Tasting Tourism: Travelling for Food and Drink*, London, Ashgate
Bonnekessen, B. (2010), 'Food is Good to Teach: An exploration of the cultural meaning of food' n *Food, Culture and Society*, Vol 12, nr. 2; 279-295
Bove, C. F., Sobal, J., & Rauschenbach, B. S. (2003), 'Food choices among newly married couples: Convergence, conflict, individualism, and projects', *Appetite*, 40:25–41
Bougarel, X. and Duijzings, G. and a Helms, E., (eds) (2007), *The new Bosnian mosaic: identities, memories and moral claims in a post-war society*, Farnham: Ashgate,
Bousfield J. (1979), 'The world seen as a color chart' in Ellen, R.F. & Reason, D. (eds) *Classifications in Their Social Context*, London: Academic
Bourdieu, P. (1984), *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste.*London: Routledge & Kegan Paul
Bourdieu, P. (1977), *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, New York: Cambridge University Press
Boyar, E. & Fleet, K (2010), *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
Bracewell, W. (2012), 'Eating Up Yugoslavia: Cookbooks and Consumption in Socialist

Yugoslavia' in Bren, P. & Neuburger, M., (eds) *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Cold War Eastern Europe:* Oxford: Oxford University Press
Bradatan, C. (2003), 'Cuisine and cultural identity in the Balkans' in *Anthropology of Eastern Europe Review*, vol.21, no.1: 43-49.
Braude, B. and Lewis, B. (eds) (1982), *Christians and Jews of the Ottoman Empire: The functioning of Plural Society*, New York: Homes and Mieer Publishers
Briggs, C. (1996), 'The Politics of Discursive Authority in Research on the "Invention of Tradition"', in *Cultural Anthropology* 11, 4
Brembeck, H. (2005), "Home to McDonalds; upholding Family Dinner with the Help of McDonalds" in *Food, Culture and Society*, vol. 8: no. 2: 215-226
Bren, P. & Neuburger, M. (2012) 'Introduction' in Bren, P & Neuburger, M. (eds) *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Coldwar Eastern Europe*, Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York
Bringa, T. (1995), *Being Muslim in a Bosnian Way: Identity and Community in a Central Bosnian Town,* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
Buchli, V. (ed) (2002) *The Material Culture Reader*, London: Bloomsbury Academic
Buchli, V. (1999) *An Archaeology of Socialism*, Oxford: Berg
Bush, R. (2010), "Food Riots: Poverty, Power and Protest", *Journal of Agrarian Change* 10 (1): 119–129
Burawoy, M. & Verdery, K. (eds) (1999), *Uncertain Transition: Ethnographies of Change in the Postsocialist World*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield
Buxhovi, J. (2012) *Kosova I,II,III*, :Prishtinë: Faik Konica.
Caldwell, M. (2009), *Food and Everydalife in Postsocialist World*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press
Caldwell, M. (2002), 'The Taste of Nationalism: Food Politics in Postsocialist Moscow', *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology*, 67:3, 295-319
Caldwell, M. (2004), *Not by Bread Alone: Social Support in New Russia*, Berkeley: University of California Press
Caldwell, M. (2004), 'Domesticating the French Fry: McDonald's and Consumerism in Moscow' in *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 4, 5-25
Caldwell, M. (2007), 'Feeding the Body and Nourishing the Soul: Natural Foods in Postsocialist Russia' in *Food, Culture and Society* 10, 1: 43-71 perspective' in Murcott. A (ed.) *The Nation's Diet.* London, Longman
Caldwell, M. (2009), 'Food and Everyday Life after State Socialism' in Caldwell, M. (eds) *Food & Everyday Life in the Postsocialist World*, Bloomington, Indiana University
Caldwell, M. (2009b), 'Tempest in a Coffee Pot' in Caldwell, M. (eds) *Food & Everyday Life in the Postsocialist World*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press
Caldwell, C. (2011), *Dachau Idylls: Living Organically in Russia's countryside*, Berkeley: California University Press
Casey, E.S. (2001), 'Between Geography and philosophy: what does it mean to be in the place-world?' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 91, 683–93
Caplan, R. (1998), 'International Diplomacy and the Crisis in Kosovo' in *International Affairs, Vol. 74*, No. 4, 745-761
Caplan, P. (1997), 'Approaches to the Study of Food, Health and Identity' in Caplan, P. (ed.)

Food, Health and Identity. London: Routledge
Caplan, P. & Keane, A. & Willetts, A. Williams, J. (1998), 'Studying Food in its Social And Cultural Contexts: approaches from an anthropological perspective' in Murcott. A (ed.) *The Nation's Diet.* London, Longman.
Capstick, D. (2009/2011), *Out & About in Kosovo, where to eat, sleep, drink and be entertained* (2009, 2011), Impact Publishing LLC
Chang. K.C. (1977), *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives, New Heaven CT: Yale University Press*
Chan, S. (2002), 'Sweet and Sour—The Chinese Experience of Food' in Kershen, A.J. (ed.) *Food in the Migrant Experience*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd
Chase, M. and Shaw, C. (1989), 'The dimension of nostalgia' in Chase, M. and Shaw. C (eds) *Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia*, New York, Manchester University Press,
Chase, H. (2006), 'The Meyhane or McDonald's? Changes in eating habits and the evolution of fast food in Istanbul' in Zubaida, S. & Tapper, R. (eds) *A Taste of Thyme: Culinary Cultures of the Middle East*, London: Tauris Park Paperback and IB.Tauris.
Chandler, D. (2006), *Empire in Denial*, London: Pluto Press
Chau, A. Y. (2008) "The Sensorial Production of the Social' in *Ethnos*, 73(4): 485-504
Charon Cardona, E. T. (2004), 'Re-encountering Cuban Tastes in Australia' in *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 15(1): 40–53
Chen, Y.J. (2001), 'Ethnic Politics in the Framing of National Cuisine: State Banquets and the proliferation of ethnic cuisine in Taiwan' in *Food, Culture, Society*, Volume 14, Issue 3
Christie, M.E. (2008), *Kitchenspace: Women, Fiestas and Everyday Life in Central Mexico*, Texas: University of Texas Press.
Chomsky, N. (1999), *The New Military Humanism: Lessons from Kosova*, London: Pluto Press
Clarck, H. (2000), *Civil Resistance in Kosovo*, London: Pluto Press
Chandler, D. (2002), *From Kosovo to Kabul and Beyond: Human Rights and International Intervention*, London: Pluto Press.
Clayer, N. (2012), *Në fillimet e nacionalizmit shqiptar: Lindja e një kombi me shumicë myslimane në Evropë*, Tiranë: Përpjekja
Clayer, N. (2013), 'Kosova: The Building Process of a Territory from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Century', in Ginio, E. &Kaser, K. (eds) (2013) *Ottoman Legacies in the Contemporary Mediterranean: The Balkans and the Middle East Compared.* European Forum at Hebrew University
Clifford, J. (1983), 'On Ethnographic Authority' in *Representations*, No. 2 (Spring, 1983), pp. 118-146
Clifford, J. (1997), *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press
Clifford, J. (1988), *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*, MA: Harvard University Press
Crossley, N. (2002), *Making sense of social movements*, Philadelphia: Open University Press
Čolović, I. (2002), *The Politics of Symbol in Serbia: Essays in Political anthropology*, London:

C Hurst & Co
Čolović, I. (2011), *The Balkans: The Terror of Culture: Essays in Political Anthropology*, Nomos Verlagsges.MBH + Company
Cohen, E., & Avieli, N. (2004), 'Food in Tourism: Attraction and Impediment' in *Annals of Tourism Research,* 31(4), 755-778
Coles, T & Timothy, D.J. (2004), 'My field is the world': conceptualizing diasporas, travel and tourism' in Coles, T & Timothy, D.J. (eds) *Tourism, Diasporas and Space*, London: Routledge
Cowan, J. (1991), 'Going out for a coffee? Contesting the grounds of gendered pleasure in everyday sociability' in Loizos, P & Papataxiarchis, E. (eds) *Contested Identities: Gender and Kinship in Modern Greece*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press
Calhoun, B. (2012), 'Shaping the Public Sphere: English Coffeehouses and French Salons and the Age of the Enlightenment' in *Colgate Academic Review*: Vol. 3, Article 7. pp.75-99
Con Davis, R. and Schleifer, R. (1991), *Criticism and Culture: The Role of Critique in Modern Literary Theory*, Harlow: Longman.
Connerton, P. (1989), *How Societies Remember,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Counihan, C. (1997a) 'Introduction' in Counihan, C. & Esterik,P.V. (eds), (1997), *Food & Culture: A Reader*. London: Routledge
Counihan, C. & Esterik,P.V. (eds), (1997), *Food & Culture: A Reader*. London: Routledge
Counihan, C. & Kaplan, P. (1998), *Food and Gender, Identity and Power*, Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers
Counihan, C. (1998a) 'What does it mean to be fat, thin, and female in the United States: A review essay' in Counihan, C. & Kaplan, P. (eds) *Food and Gender, Identity and Power*, Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers
Couhihan, C. (1998b) 'Introduction' in Counihan, C. & Kaplan, P. (1998) *Food and Gender, Identity and Power*, Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers
Crowley, D. & Reid. S.E. (2002) 'Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in Eastern Bloc' in Crowley, D. & Reid. S.E. (eds.) *Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in Eastern Bloc*, Berg: Oxford
Cuscak, I. (2000), 'African cuisines: recipes for nation-building?', *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, Volume 13, Number 2, 207-225
Cusack, I. (2003), 'Pots, pens and 'eating out the body': cuisine and the gendering of African nations' in Nations and Nationalism 9 (2), 2003, 277–296.
Cusack, I. (2000) African Cuisines: Recipes for Nation-Building? *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 13(2): 207–25.
Cvitanic, M. (2011), *Cultures and Customs of Croatia*, USA: Greenwood Godjonsson, H. (2005), 'Nation Branding' in *Place Branding*, Vol. 1, 3, 283–298
Cwiertka, K. (2006), Modern Japanese Cuisine, London: Reaktion
Dalakoglou, D. (2008), *An anthropology of the road: transnationalism, myths and migration on the Albanian-Greek cross-border motorway*, PhD Dissertation, London: University College London
Dankoff, R. & Elsie, R. (2000) *Evliya Çelebi in Albania and adjacent regions: Kosovo, Montenegro, Ohrid / the relevant sections of the Seyahatname edited with translation, commentary and introduction by Robert Dankoff and Robert Elsie*, Boston: Brill

De Certeau, M. (1984), *The Practice of Every Day Life*, Berkely: University of California Press
De Lellio, A & Schwandner-Sievers, S (2006), "Sacred Journey To a Nation: The Construction of a Shrine in Post-war Kosovo" in *Journeys* vol 7 no 1, 2006, pp. 27 – 49
Demossier, M. (2005), 'Consuming Wine in France: The 'Wandering' Drinker and vin-Anomie' in Wilson, T. (eds) *Drinking Cultures: Alcohol and Identity*, Oxford: Berg (129-154)
Demaj, A & Kaçiu, S. & Mehmeti, A (2009)' National Background Report on Agro-food Research for Kosova (under UNSCR 1244), WBC-INCO.NET, Prishtinë
De Waal, C. (2005), *Albania Today: A Portrait of Post-Communist Turbulence*, London: IB Tauris
Delaney, C. (2011), *Investigating Culture: An Experiential Introduction to Anthropology*, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell
Dinan, D. (2004), *Europe Recast. A History of European Union,* Basingtoke: Palgrave Macmillan
Di Lellio, A. & Schwandner-Sievers. S. (2006), 'The Legendary Commander: the construction of an Albanian master-narrative in post-war Kosovo' in *Nations and Nationalism, Vol, nr.3, 513-529*
Di Lellio, A. (ed), *The Case for Kosova: Passage to Independence*, London: Anthem Press
Di Lellio, A. (2009), *The Battle of Kosovo 1389: An Albanian Epic,* London: IB Tauris
DeSoucey, M. (2010), 'Gastronationalism: Food Traditions and Authenticity Politics in the European Union' in *American Sociological Review* 75(3): 432-455.
Diner, H. R. (2001), *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration*. Cambridge: MA and London: Harvard University Press
Doli, K. (2011) 'Tradita e rendit-ahengut në Gjakovë' in *Gjurmime Albanologjike Folklor dhe etnologji*, issue: 4142 / 2011/2012, 319- 325
Douglas, M. (1966),*Purity and Danger: Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, London & New York: Routledge
Douglas, M. (1972), 'Deciphering a Meal' in *Daedalus—Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Winter: 61–81.
Douglas, M. (1975), *Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology*, London: Routledge &. Kegan Paul
Douglas, M. (ed.) (1984), *Food in the Social Order: Studies of Food and Festivities in Three American Communities*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation
Douglas, M. (1975) 'Deciphering a meal' in *Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology*, London: Routledge and Keagan and Paul
Drazin. A. (2001) Care, cleanliness and consumption in urban Romania, PhD Thesis, University College London
Drusteler, E.R. (2012), 'Infidel Foods: Food and Identity in Early Modern Ottoman Travel Literature' in *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, XXXIX , 43-60
Duijzings, H. (2001), *Religion and Politics of Identity in Kosova*, Hurst&Co, London
Duijzings, G. (2003), 'Ethnic unmixing under the aegis of the West: a transnational approach to the breakup of Yugoslavia' in *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies* (Amman), 5(2), 1-16

Duijzings, G. (2010), 'From Bongo Bongo to Boston via the Balkans: anthropological contributions to the study of urban transformations in southeastern Europe' in Bohn, T.M. und Calic, M. J. (eds.) *Urbanisierung und Stadtentwicklung in Südosteuropa vom 19. bis zum 21. Jahrhundert*. 47. München: Otto Sagner (Südosteuropa-Jahrbuch 37), 2010, 93-132.

Duijzings, G., (2000), *Religion and politics of identity in Kosovo*, New York: Columbia University Press,

Duruz, J. (2005), 'Eating at the borders: culinary journeys'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 23,51–69.

Durham, E. (1923), 'Dardania and some Balkan place names' in *Man*, Vol. 23. 39-42

Durham, E. (1908), *High Albania,* London: Edward Arnold

Durham, E. (1928), *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*, London: George Allen & Unwin

Duval, D.T. (2004) 'Conceptualizing return visits: a transnational perspective' in, Coles, T & Timothy, D.J. (eds) *Tourism, Diasporas and Space*, London: Routledge

Ehn, B & Löfgren, O. (2009), 'Routines –Made and Unmade' in Shove, E. &Trentmann, F. & Wilk. R. (eds), *Time, Consumption and Everyday Life*, London: Bloomsbury

Ellis, M. (2008), 'An introduction to the coffee-house: a discursive model' in *Language & Communication*, 28 (2008) 156–164

Emerson, J. (1991) *Coffee, Tea and Chocolate Wares in the Colelction of Seattle Art Museum,* Seatle: Seatle Art Museum

Elsie, R. (2010), *Historical Dictionary of Albania*, London: Scarecrow Press

Eriksen, T.H. (2010), 'Ethnicity and Nationalism' in *Historical Perspectives*. 2nd Ed. Pluto Press.

Eriksen, T. (ed) (2003), *Globalisation: Studies in Anthropology*. London: Pluto Press.

Falk, P. (1994), *The Consuming Body*, Sage, London

Fantasia, R. (1995), "Fast Food in France", *Theory and Society*, 24 (2): 201 -43

Fan, Y. (2006), 'Branding the Nation: What is Being Branded?' in *Journal of Vacation Marketing,* (2006) 12:1, 5-14

Faroqhi, S., (1999), *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Farquhar J. (2002), *Appetites: Food and Sex in Postsocialist China*. Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press

Fidaoui, D. & Bahous, R. (2013), 'Men's talk in a Lebanese shisha café', in *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 8:1, 48-64

Fiddes, N. (1991), *Meat: A Natural Symbol*, London: Routledge.

Field, C. (1997), *In Nonna's Kitchen: Recipes and Traditions from Italy's Grandmothers*, Morrow Cookboos, London

Fine, G.A (1996), *Kitchen's: The Culture of Restaurant Work*, Berkeley: University of California Press

Finkelstein, J (1989) *Dining Out; A Sociology of Modern Manners,* London: Polity Press

Fischler, C. (1988), "Food, self and identity", *Social Science Information.* 27: 275-292

Fischler, C. (1980), "Food Habits, Social Change and the 'nature/culture' dilemma", *Social Science Information* 19, 937–953
Flandrin, J. L. & Montanari, M. (1999), *Food: A Culinary History*, New York: Columbia University Press
Feld, S. (2005), 'Places Sensed, Senses Placed: Toward a Sensuous Epistemology of Environments' in Howes, D. (ed), *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reade*r, Oxford: Berg
Ferguson, P.P. (2004), *Accounting for Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press
Freedman, R. L. (1977), 'Nutritional Anthropology' in 'Thomas K. Fitzgerald ed. *Nutrition and Anthropology in Action*, pp. 1-23, Assen: Van Gorcum
Friedman, J. (1994), *Cultural Identity and Global Process*. London: Sage.
Frykman, J (2003), 'Place for Something Else: Analysing a Cultural Imaginary' in Frykman, Jonas & Niedermüller, Peter, (eds) Articulating Europe: Local Perspectives: Berg
Fortin, N. (2009), *Food Regulations: Law, Science, Policy and Practice*, John Willey & Sons, USA
Foucault, M. & Paul Rabinow (ed.) (1997), *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, New York: The New Press
Foucault, M. (1988), *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Foucault*, MA: University of Massachusetts Press
Gabaccia, D.R. (1998), *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press,
Gagica-Ukelli, F. (2006), *1001 receta për çdo familje*; Prishtinë:Interpres Company
Garth, H. (ed) (2013), *Food and Identity in Caribbean*, Bloomsbury: London
Gellner, E. (1997), *Nations and nationalism,* Oxford: Blackwell
Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self Identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press
Ginio, Eyal & Kaser, Karl (2012), 'Introduction: Towards a Comparative Study of the Balkans and the Middle East' in Ginio, E. & Kaser, K. (eds) *Ottoman Legacies in the Contemporary Mediterranean The Balkans and the Middle East Compared*, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem & University of Graz. 1-21
Giordano, C. (2007)'Ethnic versus Cosmopolitan Regionalism? For a Political Anthropology of Local Identity Constructions in a Globalized World-Systems' in Ethnologica Balcanica, Vol 11,pp.43-58
Girard, R. (1977), *Violence and the sacred*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press
Gjini, G. (2000), *The Skup-Prizren Diocese through centuries*, Prizren: Drita
Garašanin, M. (ed.) (1988), *Iliri i Albanci*, Belgrade
Gawrych, G (2006), *The Crescent and the Eagle Ottoman Rule, Islam and the Albanians, 1874-1913*, London / New York : I.B. Tauris
Gjecovi, Sh. (1989), *The Code* of *Leke Dukagjini*, NY: Gjonlekaj Pub, translated by Leoonard Fox
Ghodsee, K. (2005), *The Red Riviera: Gender, Tourism and Postsocialism in the Black Sea*, Durham: Duke University Press

Gofman, D. (2002), *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press
Goffman, E. (1959), *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, London: Penguin
Gordy, E. (1996), *Culture of Power in Yugoslavia: Nationalism and Destruction of Alternatives*, Pensylvania, The Pensylvania State University
Gowing, E. (2011) *Travels in Blood and Honey: Becoming a Beekeper in Kosovo*, London: Interlink Signal
Grandits, H. & Taylor, C. (2010), *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s-1980s)*, Budapest: CEU Press
Greenawalt, A. (2001), *Kosova Myths: Karadžić, Njegoš, and the Transformation of Serb Memory*, Spaces of Identity III, 49-65
Gupta, A. & Ferguson, J. (ed) (1997), *Anthropological Locations: Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science,* Berkely: University of California Press.
Guy, K.M. (2002) "Rituals of Pleasure in the Land of Treasures: Wine Consumption and the making of French Identity in the Late Nineteenth Century" in *Food Nations: Selling Taste in Consumer Societies*, in Belasco, W & Scranton, P. (eds), New York, Routledge
Gullestad, M. (1984) *Kitchen Table Society; A Case Study of the Family Life and Friendships of Young Working Class Mothers in Urban Norway*, Norwegian University Press, Oslo
Habermas, J. (1989), *The Structural Transformation of The Public Sphere,* Cambridge: Polity Press
Halimi-Statovci, .D. (1988), *Kërkime Etnografike*, Prishtinë: Rilindja
Halimi-Statovci, .D. (2006), 'Studimet për ushqimin popullor shqiptar' in *Albanological Research Folklore and Ethnology Series* (Gjurmime Albanologjike Folklor dhe etnologji), issue: 34-35 / 2005, pp. 47-85,
Hall, S. & Du Gay, P. (eds) (1996) *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London: Sage
Halle, D. (1993), *Inside Culture: Art and Class in the American Home*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press,
Hall, S. (1997) 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora', in K. Woodward (ed.) *Identity and Difference*, pp. 51–9. London: Sage
Hall, J.A. (1995) *Civil Society: Theory, History, Comparison*. Cambridge: Polity Press
Hall, C.M., Tipler, J., Reddy, R. and Rowling, K. (2010), 'Coffee servicescapes: The design of café culture in New Zealand' in L. Joliffe (Ed.), *Coffee Culture, Destinations and Tourism*, Bristol: Channel View Publication
Hann, C. (1996), 'Political Society and Civil Anthropology' in Hann, C. & Dunn, E. (eds.) *Civil Society, Challenging Western Models*, London: Routledge
Hann, C. & Dunn, E. (eds.) *Civil Society, Challenging Western Models*, London: Routledge
Hattox, R.S. (1985), *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East*, Washington, University of Washington Press,
Hammond, A. (ed.) (2004) *The Balkans and West: Constructing the European Other, 1945–2003*. Surrey: Ashgate
Hamiti, S. (2010), *Memento për Rugovën*, Tiranë: Shtëpia botuese 55
Hann, C. (1998), 'Postsocialist Nationalism: Rediscovering the Past in Southeast Poland' Slavic Review, vol. 57, no. 4 (Winter 1998), 840–863
Hann, C (2002) 'Introduction' in Hann, C. (ed), *Postsocialism: Ideals, ideologies, practices in Eurasia*, London: Routledge

Hann, C. (2002b), *Postsocialism: Ideals, Ideologies, Practices in Eurasia*, London: Routledge
Hann, C. (1993), 'Introduction' social anthropology and socialism' in Han, C. (ed) *Socialism: Ideal, Ideologies and Local Practice*, London: Routledge
Hannerz, U. (1990) 'Cosmopolitans and locals in world culture' in Featherstone, M.(ed) *Global Culture: Nationalism, globalization and modernity*, London: Sage
Hannerz, U. (1996), *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*. London: Routledge.
Hannerz, U. (2006), 'Studying Down, Up, Sideways, Through, Backwards, Forwards, Away and at Home: Reflections on the Field Worries of an Expansive Discipline' in Coleman, S. & Collins, P. (eds), *Locating the Field Space, Place and Context in Anthropology*, London: Berg
Handelman, D. (1990), *Models and Mirrors: Towards and Anthropology of Public Events*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Handelman, D. (1998), *Models and Mirrors: Towards and Anthropology of Public Events*, New York: Berghahn
Handler, R. & Linnekin, j. (1984) 'Tradition, Genuine or Spurious', *Journal of American Folklore*, 97 (385): 273-90
Harbottle, L. (2000), *Food for Health, Food for Wealth: Ethnic and Gender Identities in British Iranian Communities*, New York: Berghahn Books.
Harris, P. & Lyon, D and McLaughlin, S. (2005),*The Meaning of Food*, CT: The Globe Pequot Press.
Hartmuth, M. (2006) 'Negotiating tradition and ambition: a comparative perspective on the 'de-Ottomanization' of the Balkan cityscapes', in *Ethnologia Balkanica*, 10: 15-33
Harrison, S. (1999), 'Identity as a scarce resource' in *Social Anthropology*, Volume 7, Issue 03: 239-251
Hastings, A. (1997), *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Hehir, A. (2010), *Kosovo, Intervention and Statebuilding: The International Community and the Transition to Independence*, London: Taylor& Francis
Herscher, A. & Riedlmayer, H. (2000), 'Architectural Heritage in Kosova: A Post-War Report' in US/ICOMOS Newsletter 4, July-August
Hewitt, R. J. (1872), *Coffee: Its History, Cultivation and Uses*, New York: D. Appleton and Company
Haine, S (1996), *The World of Paris Cafe: Socialbility among the working clasess 1789-1914*, The John Hopkins University, USA
Heath, D. (1987) 'Anthropology and Alcohol Studies: Current Issues' in *Annual Review of Anthropology,* 16, 99-120
Henriksen, M.I. & Skjolsfold, T.M. & Gronning, I. (2013), 'The Café Community' in Tjora. A & Scambler, G. (eds) *Café Society*, New York: Palgrave
Halvaksz II, J.A. (2013), 'The Taste of Public Places: Terroir in Papua New Guinea's Emerging Nation' in *Anthropological Forum: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Comparative Sociology*, 23:2, 142-157
Hage, G. (1997), 'At Home in the Entrails of the West: Multiculturalism, "Ethnic Food" and

Migrant Home-Building' in H. Grace, G. Hage, L. Johnson, J. Langsworth and M. Symonds (eds) *Home/World: Space, Community and Marginality in Sydney's West*. Annandale: Pluto Press Australia Ltd.

Hagen, R. (2009), *Food culture in Pacific Islands*, California: Greenwood Publishing Group

Hasluck, M. (1954) *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Heberle, R. (1943), 'Regionalism: Some Critical Observations' in *Social Forces* 21, 3: 280-286

Heath, D. (1987) 'Anthropology and Alcohol Studies:Current Issues' in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 16. 99-120

Hebdige, Dick (1979). *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London: Routledge

Hjalager,A. M., & Richards, G. (eds.) (2002) *Tourism and Gastronomy*. London: Routledge

Hobsbawm, E. (1983), 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions' in *Hobsbawm,* E. & *Ranger,* (eds) *T.* (1983), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Hobsbawm*, E. &* Ranger*, T.* (eds) (1983), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Hobsbawmn, E. (1992) *Nations and Nationalism in Europe since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Hoxha, E. (2013), *Qyteti dhe dashuria: Ditari urban*, Prishtinë

Howes, D. (ed) (2005) *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reade*r, Oxford: Berg

Hsu, C. (2005), 'A taste of 'modernity': Working in a western restaurant in market socialist China' in *Ethnography* 2005 6: 543-565

Hubbert, J. (2007) 'Serving the Past on Platter: Consuming the Cultural Revolution in Contemporary china' in Beriss, D. & Sutton, D. (eds) *The Restaurant Book; Ethnographies of Where We Eat*, Berg, Oxford and New York

Hughes, M.H. (1997), 'Soul, black women, and food' in Counihan, C & Esterik, PV. (eds.), *Food and Culture. A Reader* . London: Routledge.

Huntington, S. (1996) *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, UK: Penguin Books

Humphrey, C. (1995), 'Creating a Culture of Disillusionment: Consumption in Moscow, A Chronicle of Changing Times' in Miller, D. (ed.) *Words Apart: Modernity Through a Prism of Local*, London: Routledge

Hymes, D. (1975) 'Folklore's Nature and Sun's Myth' in *Journal of American Folklore*, 88/350: 345-69

Inglis, D. & Gimlin, D (2009), 'Food globalizations: Ironies and Ambivalences of Food, Cuisine and Globality' in Inglis, D. & Gimlin, D (eds) *Globalization of Food*, Oxford: Berg

Inalcik, H. (1996), "The meaning of Legacy: The Ottoman Case" in Brown, C.L. (ed.), *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East,* NY, Columbia University Press

Ingimurdarson, V. (2007), 'The Politics of Memory and the Reconstruction of Albanian National Identity in Postwar Kosova' in *History & Memory*, Volume 19, Number 1, Spring/Summer, 95-123

Itzkowitz, N., (1996), "The problem of Perception" in Brown, C. L. (ed.), *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East*, New York: Columbia University Press

James, A. (1997), "How British Is British Food in Food", *Health and Identity* (ed) Pat Caplan, Routledge, London, 71-86

Jansen, W. (1997), 'Gender identity and the rituals of food in a Jordanian community', *Food & Foodways*, 7(2):87–117

Jebb, R.C. (1880, *Modern Greece: Two Lectures Delivered Before the Philosophical Institution of Edinburgh, with Pages on 'The Progress of Greece' and ' Byron and Greece'*,London: Macmillan,

Jensen, K. O., &Holm, L. (1999), 'Preferences, quantities, and concerns: Sociocultural perspectives on the gendered consumption of foods' *European Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 53:351–359

Judah, T. (2008), *Kosova: What Everyone Needs to Know*, New York: Oxford University Press

Kadriu, L. (2009) *Glokalizimi: perceptime kulturore*, Prishtinë: IAP

Kadriu, L. (2009b) *Glokalizmi si shprehje kulturore dhe vlerë identifikuese*, (MA thesis in ethnology), Prishtinë, University of Prishtina

Kaneva-Johnson, M. (1999), *The Melting Pot: Balkan Food and Cookery,* Totnes, UK: Prospect Books

Kaneff, D. (2004), *Who Owns the Past? The Politics of Time in a 'Model' Bulgarian village*, Oxford: Berghahn

Karakasidou, A. (1997), *Field of Wheat, Hills of Blood: Passages to Nationhood in Greek Macedonia 1870-1990*, Chicago: Chicago University Press

Karaosmanoglu D. (2009), 'Eating the past: multiple spaces, multiple times—performing "Ottomanness" in *Istanbul. Int. J. Cult. Stud.* 12:339–58

Karaosmanoglu, D. (2007), 'Surviving the Global Market: Turkish Cuisine Under Construction' in *Food, Culture & Society*, vol. 10 :: no. 3: 425-448

Kiossev, A. (2002), "The Dark Intimacy: Maps, Identities, Acts of Identifications", in ed. D.I. Bjelić, O.Savić. *Balkan as Metaphor. Between Globalization and Fragmentation.* Cambridge, MA: MIT

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett B. (1999),' Playing to the senses: food as a performance medium' *Perform. Res.* 4:1–30

Kingsolver, B. (2007), *Animal, Vegetable, Miracle: A Year of Food Life*, New York: HarperCollins Publishers

Kideckel, D. (2008), *Getting by in Postsocialist Romania: Labor, the Body, & Working-Class Culture,* Bloomington: Indiana University Press

Kittler, P.G. & Sucher, PK. & Nelms, M.N (eds) (2012), *Food and Culture, 6th edition*, Wandsworth: Cengage Learning

Kaplan, R. (1993), *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey through History*, New York: St. Martin's Press,

Kagan, R. (2003), *Paradise and power,* London: Atlantic Books

Katičič, R. (1976), *Ancient Languages for the Balkans,* The Hague-Paris, Mouton (Part I)
Kedourie, E. (1993) *Nationalism* 4th edn, Oxford: Blackwell
Kelmendi, M. & Desku, A. (eds.) (2005), *Who is Kosovar? Kosovar identity: a debate,* Prishtina: Java Multimedia
Klinger-Vartabedian, L. & Vartabedian, R. A. (1992), 'Media and Discourse in the Twentieth-Century Coffeehouse Movement, *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 26: 211–218
Klara, R *(*2004), *'*Consumer insights: the comfort zone' *in Restaurant Business* 103*:*14–6
Krasniqi, G. (2011) 'Socialism, National Utopia, and Rock Music: Inside the Albanian Rock Scene of Yugoslavia, 1970–1989' in *East Central Europe 38 (2011).336-354*
Klein, J. (2009), 'For eating it's Guangzhou: Regional Culinary Traditions and Chinese Socialism', in West, H& Raman, P (eds), *Enduring Socialism: Explorations of Revolution & Transformation, Restoration & Continuation*, London: Berghahn Books
Knight, J. (1998) Selling Mother's Love? : Mail Order Village Food in Japan, in *Journal of Material Culture*, 3: 53-73
Kraja, M. (2012), *Identiteti Kosovar*, Prishtinë: Penqendra
Krasniqi, G. (2010), *Citizenship as a tool of statebuilding in Kosovo: status, rights and identity in a new state*, Edinburgh: CITSEE Working Papers 2010/2011
Krasniqi, M. (1977) 'Krahinat etnografike të Kosovës' në 'Konferenca kombtare e studimeve etnografike", ASHASH, Tiranë
Krasniqi, M. (2005), *Mikpritja në traditën shqiptar*, Pishtinë: ASHAK
Krasniqi, E. (2012), 'Family in Fragile State and Economy in Kosovo' –Preliminary Project Report of the FWF Project "The Kosovar Albanian Family Revisited", supervised by Prof. Karl Kaser, Centre for Southeast European History and Anthropology, University of Graz
Krasniqi, V. (2014) 'Kosovo: topography of the construction of the Nation' in Kolstø, P. (ed). *Strategies of Symbolic Nation-building in South Eastern Europe*, Farhham: Ashgate
Krašteva-Blagoeva, E. (2008), 'Tasting the Balkans: Food and identity' in *Ethnologia Balcanica* 12 2008 pp.25-36
Krstić- Brano, B. (2004), *Kosova: Facing the Court of History*, New York: Humanity Books
Kostovicova, D & Bojicic-Djelilovic, V. (eds) (2004), *Transnationalism in the Balkans*, London: Routledge.
Kugelmass, J. (1990), 'Green Bagels: An Essay on Food, Nostalgia and Carnivalesque', YIVO Annual 19: 57-80
Kürti. L. (2001), *The Remote Borderland: Transylvania in the Hungarian Imagination*, Albany: State University of New York Press
Kürti. L & Skalnik, P. (2009), *Postsocialist Europe: Anthropological perspectives from home*, New York: Berghahn Book
Lalonde, M. (1992), 'Deciphering a meal again or the anthropology of taste' in *Social Science Information*, 31, 69-86
Lash. S. & Urry, J. (1994) *Economies of Signs and Space,* London: Sage
Lashley C. & Morrison. A (eds) (2000). *In Search of Hospitality: Theoretical Perspectives and Debates* Butterworth-Heinemann: Oxford
Laurier, E.(2008), 'Drinking up endings: Conversational resources of the café' in *Language & Communication, 28* (2008) 165–181
Lawrence, M. (1999) Food Economy Assessment of Kosovo Province July –September, The Food Economy Group, Rome

Leitch, A. (2000), 'The Social Life of *Lardo'* in *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 1: 103–18.
Leitch, A. (2009) 'Slow food and the politics of 'virtous globalization'' in Iglis, D & Gimlin, D. (eds) The Globalization of Food, Oxford: Berg
Leynse, H.L.W. (2006), 'Journeys through 'Ingestible Topography': Socializing the Situated Eater in France' in Wilson, T. (ed.), *Food, Drink and Identity in Europe*, New York: Rodopi
Lévi-Strauss, C. (1966), *The Savage Mind*, London : Weidenfeld and Nicholson
Lévi-Strauss, C. (1969/1983), *The Raw and the Cooked*, trans. John and Doreen Weightman, Chicago: University of Chicago Press
Lévi-Strauss, C. (1978/1990),*The Origin of Table Manners*, trans. John and Doreen Weightman, Chicago: University of Chicago Press
Lewellen, T. (2002), *The Anthropology of Globalization: Cultural Anthropology Enters the 21st Century*. Westport: Bergin & Garvey
Llobera, J.R. (1994), *The God of modernity: the development of nationalism in Western Europe*, Oxford: Berg
Llobera, J.R. (2004), *Foundations of national identity: from Catalonia to Europe,* New York Oxford: Berghahn Books, New York ; Oxford.
Lowenthal, D. (1985*), The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Lowenthal, D. (1997*), The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History.* New York: Viking
Locher J.L., Yoels W. C., Maurer, D. & Jillian, V.E. (2005), "Comfort Foods: An Exploratory Journey Into The Social and Emotional Significance of Food" in *Food and Foodways*, 13:4, 2005, 273-297.
Luci, N & Krasniqi, V. (2006), *The Politics of Remembrance and Belonging; Life Histories of Albanian Women in Kosova*, Prishtinë: Centre for Research and Gender Policy
Luci, N. (2014) *Seeking Independece: Making Nation, Memory and Manhood in Kosova*, PhD dissertation submitted to University of Michigan
Luthar, B. & Pusnik, M. (eds.) (2010), *Remmebering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, Washington DC: New Academia Publishing
Lucy M. Long (2001),'Nourishing the academic imagination: The use of food in teaching concepts of culture*, Food and Foodways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment*, 9:3-4, 235-262
Long, L. (2004), *Culinary Tourism*, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky
Lu, S & Fine. G.A. (1995), 'The Presentation of Ethnic Authenticity: Chinese Food as a Social Accomplishment' in *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 3, 535-553
Lugosi, P. (2008), 'Hospitality spaces, hospitable moments: Consumer encounters and affectice experiences in commercial setting.' In *Journal of Foodservice*, 19. 139-149
Lugosi P (2007), 'Consumer participation in commercial hospitality' in *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* **1**:227–36
Lupton, D. (1996), *Food, the Body and the Self*, London, Sage Publications
Long, L. (2004) 'Introduction' in Long, L. (ed) Culinary Tourism, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky

MacCannell, D. (1976), *The Tourist: A New Theory of Leisure Class*, New York: Shocken
MacClancy, J. (2004), 'Food, identity, Identification' in Macbeth, H. & MacClancy, J. (eds.), *Researching Food Habits. Methods and Problems*. New York: Berghahn Books
MacClancy, J. (2007), *Expressing Identities in the Basque Arena*, Oxford: James Currey Publishers
MacCannel, D. (1973), 'Staged Authenticity: Arranged Social Space in Tourist Setting' in *American Journal of Sociology*, 73, nr. 3, pp. 589-603
Maček, I. (2009), *Sarajevo under Siege: Anthropology in Wartime*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania press
Marte, L. (2011), 'Afro-Diasporic Seasonings: Food Routes and Dominican Place-Making in New York City' in *Food, Culture, Society*, Volume 14 issue 2:180– 204
Martens, L and A. Warde. (1997), "The meaning of eating out in northern city" in Caplan, P (Ed)(1997),*Food, Health and Identity: Approaches from the Social Sciences*, London and New York: Routledge
Mars, G. & Nicod, M (1984) *The World of Waiters*, London: George Allen & Unwin
Maxwell, A. (2008), 'Slavic Macedonian Nationalism: From "Regional" to "Ethnic", in *Ethnologica Balcanica*, vol 11, pp 127-154
Mak, A. & Lumber, M & Eves, A. (2012), 'Globalization and food consumption in tourism' in Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 39, No. 1, pp. 171–196
Mak, A.H.N, M. Lumbers, A. Eves and R.C.Y. Changb. 2012. ''Factors Influencing Tourist Food Consumption.'' International Journal of Hospitality Management 31(3): 928936
Mazurek, M., (2012) 'Keeping it Close to Home: Resourcefulness and Scarcity in Late Socialist and Postsocialist Poland' in Bren, P & Neuburger, M. (eds) *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Coldwar Eastern Europe*, Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York
Malcolm, N. (1996), *Bosnia: A Short History*, London: Macmillan,
Malcolm, N. (1998), *Kosovo: A Short History*, London: Macmillan
Malcolm, N. (2001), 'Myths of Albanian National Identity: Some Key Elements, as Expressed in the Works of Albanian Writers in America in the Early Twentieth Century' in Schwandner-Sievers, S. & Fischer, B. (eds.) *Albanian identities: Myth and History,* London*:* Hurst & Company.
Malinowski, B. (1922), *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An account of native enterprise and adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul
Malinowski, B. (1926), *Crime and custom in savage society*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.
Malinowski, B. & E.R. Leach, & J. Berry (1935), *Coral gardens and their magic*, London: Allen & Unwin.
Marshall, D. (1993), 'Appropriate meal occasions: understanding conventions and exploring situational influences on food choice' in *The International Review of Retail*, Distribution and Consumer Research, 3:3, 279-301
Martinez, S. (2010) *Local Food Systems: Concepts, Impacts and Issues*, USDA
Matejowsky, T. (2006) 'Global Tastes/Local Contexts:An Ethnographic Account of Fast Food in

San Fernando City, the Philippines' in Wilk, R. (ed) *Fast Food/Slow Food: The Economic Anthropology of Global Food Systems*, Walnut Creek: Altamira Press

Marushiakova, E. & Popov, W. *(2001)* 'New ethnic identities in the case of Balkans: the case of Egyptians*', in* Facta Universitatis Series: *Philosophy and Sociology* Vol. 2, No 8, 2001, pp. 465 – 477

Mauss, M. (1954), *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, London: Cohen & West Ltd

Menell, S. &Murcott, A. & Otterloo, H.V. (1992), *Sociology of food: eating, diet and culture,* Sage: London

McDonogh, G. (1993), 'The Geography of Economies' in McDonogh, G. & Rotenberg, R. (R. (eds.) *The Cultural Meaning of Urban Space*: Wesport, Bergin & Garvey

McIntosh, W.A. (1996), *Sociologies of Food and Nutrition*. New York: Plenum

McCracken, G. (1989), 'Homeyness: A Cultural Account of One Constellation of Consumer Goods and Meanings' in E. Hirschman (ed) *Interpretive Consumer Research,* Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research

Mead, M. (1997), 'The Changing Significance of Food' in Counihan, c. & Esterik, P.V. (eds) *Food and Culture: A Reader*, London: Routledge

Meler, M., & Cerovic, Z. (2003). Food marketing in the function of tourist product development, *British Food Journal*, 105(3), 175-19

Mertus, J. (1999), *Kosovo: How Myths and Truths Started a War*, California: University of California Press

Metzo, K (2009), 'The Social and Gendered Lives of Vodka in rural Siberia' in Caldwell, M. (eds) *Food & Everyday Life in the Postsocialist World*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press

Millas, H. (2008), 'Ethnic Identity and Nation Building. On the Byzantine and Ottoman Historical Legacies', in Detrez, R. and Segaert, B. eds. *Europe and the Historical Legacies in the Balkans,* Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang

Miller, D. (1987), *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*, Oxford: Berg

Miller, D. (1995), 'Introduction: Anthropology, Modernity and Consumption' in Miller, D. (eds) *Worlds Apart: Modernity through the Prism of the Local*. London: Routledge.

Miller, D. (ed) (1995 *Worlds Apart: Modernity through the Prism of the Local*. London: Routledge.

Miller, D. (2002) 'Coca-cola: A black sweet drink from Trinidad' in Buchli, V.(ed). *The Material Culture Reader*, Oxford: Berg

Miller, D. (2009) *Stuff*, Cambridge: Polity

Miller, D. (2013), 'Commentary: opportunism, perspective and insight' in *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale* (2013) 21, 2 226–229

Miller, J, & Deutch, J. (2009) *Food Studies: An Introduction to Research Methods*, Oxford: Berg

Mincyte, D. (2009), 'Self-made Women: Informal Diary Markets in Europeanizing Lithuania' in Caldwell, M. (eds), *Food & Everyday Life in the Postsocialist World*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press

Mincyte, D. (2011) 'Unusual Ingredients: Gastronationalism, Globalization, Technology, and Zeppelins in the Lithuanian Imagination' in *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 29(2) Fall 2011, 1-21

Mintz, S. (1986), *Sweetness and power: the place of sugar in modern history*, London: Penguin Books
Mintz, S. (1996) *Tasting food, tasting freedom: Excursions into eating, culture and the past,* Boston: Beacon Press
Mintz, S. & du Bois, C. (2002), 'The Anthropology of Food and Eating' in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31, 99-119
Mishkova, D. (2004) 'The Use of Tradition and National Identity in the Balkans' in Todorova, M. (ed.), *Balkan Identities; Nation and Memory*, Hurst & Co , London
Mitrushi, Ll. (1981) 'Ushqimi popullor në Nikaj-Mertur' në *Etnografia Shqiptare*, nr. 11, 221-239
Milivojević, S. (2011), 'The Nationalization of Everyday Life' Popov, N. & Gojkovič, D. ,eds. (2000*), The Road to War in Serbia*, Budapest: Central University Press
Minogue, K. (1967), *Nationalism*, London: Basic Books
Mirdita, Z. (1978), *Studime dardane*, Prishtinë: Rilindja
Mirodan, V. (1987), *Balkan Cookbook*, USA: Pelican Publishing,
Mennell, S. (1985), *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
Morgan, L. (2012), 'Diplomatic Gastronomy: Style and Power at the Table', *Food and Foodways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment*, 20:2, 146-166
Molz, J.G. Gibson, S. (eds) (2007), *Mobilizing Hospitality: The Ethics of Social Relations in a Mobile World*. Ashgate: Aldershot
Murcott, A. (1983), "It's a Pleasure to Cook for Him": Food, Mealtimes and Gender in Some South Wales Households' In E. Gamarnikow, D. H. J. Morgan, J. Purvis and D. Taylorson (eds) *The Public and the Private*. London: Heinemann
Mlekuž, J., (2011), *Burekalism: A Slovenian View of Bureks and Burekpeople*, ANNALES · Ser. hist. sociol. · 21 · 2011 · 2
Montanari, M. (*2006*), *Food* is *culture*, New York: Columbia University Press
Munn, N. (1992) The Fame of Gawa*: A Symbolic Study of Value Transformation in a Massim (Papua New Guinea) Society*, Durham: Duke University Press
Murdoch, N. & Marsden. T. & Banks, J. (2000), 'Quality, Nature, and Embeddedness: Some Theoretical Considerations in the Context of the Food Sector' in *Economic Geography*, volume 76, nr. 2, 107-125
Nairn, T. (1977) *The Break-up of Britain*: London: New Left Books
Nasrallah, N. (2010) 'In the Beginning there Was No *Musakka*: A Curious Case in the History of Culinary Metamorphoses', in *Food, Culture and Society* Volume 13, Number 4, December 2010 , pp. 595-606
Nestle, M. (2009) 'Foreword' in Nestle, Marion & Caldwell, Melissa (eds) *Food & Everyday Life in the Postsocialist World*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press
Neuburger, M. (2004), *The Orient Within: Muslim Minorities and the Negotiation of Nationhood in Modern Bulgaria*, New York: Cornell University Press
Neziri, Z. (2001), *Pajtimi i gjaqeve 1990-1991*, Prishtinë: Era

Nguyen, T.H.& King, B & Turner, L (2003), 'Travel behaviour and migrant cultures: The Vietnamese in Australia', Tourism, Culture and Communication, 4, (2): 95 -107
Nopsca, B.F. (2009), *Shqipëria katolike e Veriut*, Prishtine: Faik Konica, trans in Alb . Arif Kutleshis [Origionally published in 1908 in Vienna under the Title: 'Das Katholische NordAlbanian: Eine Skizze', Geraldn& Co, Vien]
Nora, P. (1996), *Realms of Memory*, vol 1. New York, Columbia University Press
Norris, H. T. (1993), *Islam in the Balkans: Religion and Society Between Europe and the Arab World*. University of South Carolina Press
Nützenandel, A & Trentmann, F. (2008), 'Introduction: Mapping Food and Globalization' in Nützenandel, A & Trentmann, F (eds), *Food and Globalization: Consumption, Markets and Politics in the Modern World*, Oxford: Berg
Oakes, M. (2004), *"Bad Foods": Changing Attitude about What We Eat,* London: Transaction Publishers
Oha, O. (2000), 'Eating raw nothing, committing suicide: the politics and semiotics of food culture', *Mots Pluriels* No. 15,
Ohnuki-Tierney, E. (1993), *Rice as Self: Japanese Identities through Time*: New Jersey, Princeton University Press
Oldenburg, Ray (1989), *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Community Centers, Beauty Parlors, General Stores, Bars, Hangouts, and How They Get You Through the Day*. New York: Paragon House
Oldenburg, R. (2001), *Celebrating the third place: inspiring stories about "the Great Good Places" in the Heart of Our Communities*, New York: Marlowe & Company
Oldenburg, R. (2013) 'The Café as a Third Place' in Tjora. A & Scambler, G. (eds) *Café Society*, New York: Palgrave
Olwig, K. F. and Hastrup, K. (eds) (1997) *Siting Culture; the Shifting Anthropological Object,* London: Routledge,
Palmer, C. (1998), 'From theory to practice: experiencing the nation in everyday life' in *Journal of Material Culture* 3 (2): 175-99.
Papazoglu, F. (1978), *The Central Balkan Tribes in Pre-Roman Times: Triballi, Autoriatae, Dardanians, Scordisi and Moesians*, Amsterdam
Parkins, W. & Craig, G. (2006), *Slow living*, London: Berg
Patterson, P.H. (2011), *Bought and Sold: Living and Losing a Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press
Paules, G.F. (1991), *Dishing It Out: Power and Resistance among Waitresses in a New Jersey Restaurant*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press
Paulson, S. (2006), 'Body, nation, and consubstantiation in Bolivian ritual meals' in *American Ethnologists V*ol. 33, No. 4: 650–664,
Pendergrast, M. (1999) *Uncommon grounds: the history of Coffee and How it Transformed our World*, Basic Books
Peckham, R.Sh. (2004),'Internal colonialism; Nation and Region in nineteenth Century Greece' in Todorova. M. (ed), *Balkan Identities; Nation and Memory*, Hutst &Co , London
Petrini, C. (2001), *Slow Food: The Case for Taste*, trans. W.McCuaig, New York: Columbia University Press
Petrini, C. (2007), *Slow Food Nation: Why Our Food Should Be Good, Clean, and Fair*, Portland: Rizzoli Ex Libris,

Petruzelli, A.M. & Savino, (2012), 'Search, Recombination, and Innovation: Lessons from Haute Cuisine' *in Long Range Planning*
Pilcher, M.J. (1996), 'Tamales or timbales: cuisine and the formation of Mexican national identity, 1821-1911'. *The Americas* 53(2): 193-216.
Pichler, R. (2009), 'Migration, Ritual, Ethnic Conflict: a Study of Wedding Ceremonies of Albanian Transmigrants from the Republic of Macedonia' in Ethnologia Balkanica, 13, 2009, pp211-229
Pillsbury, R. (1998), *No Foreign Food: The American Diet in Time and Place*, Boulder: Westview Press
Pink S. (2008), 'An urban tour: the sensory sociality of ethnographic place-making' in *Ethnography* 9:175–96
Pink. S. (2009), *Doing Sensuous Ethnography*, London: Sage
Pollan, M. (2006), *The Omnivore's Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals*, New York: Penguin Book
Proust, M. (1981), *A Remembrance of Thing Past* vol.1, C.K. Scott Moncrief and T. Kilmrtin, London, Chatto and Windus
Pollan, M. (2006), *The Omnivore's Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals*, New York: Penguin Book
Popov, N. & Gojkovič, D. (eds)(2000*), The Road to War in Serbia*, Budapest: Central University Press.
Postill, J. (2012) Digital Politics and Digital Engagement' in Horst, A.H. & Miller, D. (eds) *Digital Anthropology*, Oxford: Berg
Prošić-Dvornić, M. (2000) 'Serbia: Inside Story' in Halpern, M.J. & Kideckel, D.A (eds) *Neighbours at War: Anthropological perspectives on Yugoslav Ethnicity, Culture and History*, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press
Putnam, R. (1993), *Making Democracy Work: Civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press 1993
Rand, D.H. (2013) *Roots of the Arab Spring: Contested Authority and Political Change in Middle East*, Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania Press
Ramet, P.S. (1996), 'Nationalism and the 'idiocy' of the countryside: The case of Serbia', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 19:1, 70-87
Ramet, S. (2005), *Thinking About Yugoslavia: Scholarly Debates about the Yugoslav Breakup and the Wars in Bosnia and Kosovo.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Rapport, N. and Dawson, A., (eds) (1998) *Migrants of Identity*. Oxford: Berg
Rapport, N. & Dawson, A. (1998), *Migrants of Identity: Perceptions of Home in World of Movement*, Oxford: Berg
Rasmussen, S. (1996), 'Matters of Taste: Food, Eating, and Reflections on "The Body Politic" in Tuareg Society' in *Journal of Anthropological Research* 52: 61–83.
Ray, K. (2004) *The Migrant's Table: Meals and Memories in Bengali-American Households*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
Richards, A. I. (1939) *Land, Labour and Diet In Northern Rhodesia. An Economic Study of the Bemba Tribe*. London: Oxford University Press
Riza, E. & Haliti, N. (2006) *Banesa qytetare kosovore shekullit XVII dhe XIX*, Prishtinë:

ASHAK
Reineck, J. (1991), *The Past as Refuge: Gender, Migration and Ideology among Kosova Albanians,* PHD dissertation, University of California
Reineck, J. (1992), 'Seizing the past, forging the present: changing visions of self and the nation among Kosova Albanians', Monterey Institute of International Studies, USA
Roberts, A. (1999) 'NATO's "Humanitarian War" over Kosova', *Survival*, vol 41, nr. 3
Roseberry, W. (1996) 'The rise of yuppie coffees and the reimagination of class in the United States' in *American Anthropologist*, 1996, Vol.98 (4), pp.762-775
Roth, K (2001), 'Toward "Politics of Interethnic Coexistence": Can Europe Learn from the Multiethnic Empires? In Niedermüller,P. & Stiklund, B. (eds) *Europe: Cultural Construction and Reality*, Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 37-51
Roth, K. (1997), *Bourgeois Culture and Civil Society in Southeast Europe – A Contribution to the Debate on Modernization*", Turku: Nordic Institute of Folklore
Roth, K. (2007), 'What's in a Region? Southeast European Regions Between Globalization EU-Integration and Marginalization' in *Ethnologia Balcanica* , vol 11. pp 17-41
Robertson, R. (1994), 'Globalization or Glocalization?' *Journal of International Communication* 1:33–52.
Robertson, R. (1995), 'Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity' in Featherstone, M &Lash, S & Roberston, R. (eds) *Global Modernities*, London: Sage.
Saltmarshe, D. (2001), *Identity in a Post-Communist Balkan State: An Albanian Village Study*, Aldershot: Ashgate
Sandage, T. (2013), *Writing on the Wall: Social Media - The First 2,000 Years*, USA, Bloomsbury
Sampson, S. (1995) 'All is possible, nothing is certain: The horizons of transition in a Romanian village' in Kideckel, D. (ed) *East European Communities: The struggle for balance in Turbulent times*, Boulder Colo: Westview Press
Scambler, G. and Kelleher, D. (2006), 'New social and health movements: issues of representation and change' in *Critical Public Health* , 16, 1–13.
Slater, D. (2009), 'The Ethics of Routine: Consciousness, Tedium and Value' in Shove, E. &Trentmann, F. & Wilk.R. (eds), *Time, Consumption and Everyday Life*, London: Bloomsbury
Schmit, O.J. (2009), *Skënderbeu*, Tiranë: K&B
Schmitt, O.J. (2012) *Kosova: histori e shkurtër e një treve qendrore ballkanike*, Prishtinë: Koha
Schmitt, O.J. (2012), *Shqiptarët; një histori midis Lindjes dhe Perëndimit*, Tiranë, K&B [Original title in German: Die Albaner: Eine Geschichte zwischen Orient unde Okzident, C.H. Beck oHG, München, 2012]
Schwandner-Sievers, S. (2010)'Invisible - Inaudible: Albanian Memory of Socialism after the War in Kosovo', in Todorova, M. and Gille, Z. (eds), *Post-Communist Nostalgia*. New York: Berghahn
Schwander-Sievers. S. & Fischer, B. (eds) (2002), *Albanian identities: Myth and History*, London: Hurst &Company

Schwandner-Sievers, S. & Di Lellio, A. (2006) 'Sacred Journey to a Nation: Site Sacralisation and 'Political Reproduction' of a New Shrine to the Kosovo Nation', *Journeys: The international journal of travel and travel writing*, vol. 7, no 1 (January), pp. 27 – 49.

Scholliers, P. (2001), 'Meals, Food Narratives and Sentiments of Belonging in Past and Present' in Scholliers, P. (ed), *Food, Drink and Identity in Europe since the Middle Ages*, Oxford: Berg

Scholliers, P. (ed) (2001),*Food, Drink and Identity in Europe since the Middle Ages*, Oxford: Berg

Schlosser, E. (2001), *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the All-American Meal*, Boston: Houghton-Mifflin

Searles, E. (2002), 'Food and the Making of Modern Inuit Identities, Food and Foodways: Explorations in *History and Culture of Human Nourishment*, 10:1-2, 55-78

Sejdiu, S. (1984) *Fjalorth etnobotanik i shqipes*, Prishtinë; Rilindja

Seremetakis, N. (1994), *The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity*, Chicago: Chicago University Press

Sevak, L., McCormack, V., Bhakta, D., Kassam-Khamis, T. and dos Santos Silva, I. (2004) 'Validation of a Food Frequency Questionnaire to Assess Macro- and Micro-Nutrient Intake among South Asians in the United Kingdom' in *European Journal of Nutrition* 43: 160–8

Shectman, S. (2009) 'A Celebration of *Masterstvo*' in Caldwell, M. (eds) *Food & Everyday Life in the Postsocialist World*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press

Sherringham C. & Daruwalla, P. (2007) 'Transgressing hospitality: Polarities and disordered relationships?' in Lashley, C. Lynch, P. & Morrison, A. (eds) *Hospitality: A Social Lens*, Elsevier: Oxford.

Siani-Davies, P. (2003), 'Introduction: international intervention (and non-intervention) in the Balkans' in Siani-Davies, P. (ed), *International Intervention in the Balkans since 1995*. London: Routledge

Sinani, R. (1974) *Tridhjetë vjetë të zhvillimit ekonomik të Prishtinës*, Prishtinë: Kuvendi i Komunës së Prishtinës.

Simić, Biljana & Hristov, Petko (2007), *Kurban in the Balkans*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade

Sharma, S., Cade, J., Jackson, M., Mbanya, J. C., Chungong, S., Forrester, T., Suszko, M. (2011) *The Locavore's Kitchen: A Cook's Guide to Seasonal Eating and Preserving,* Open University Press

Shukriu, E. (2004), *Ancient Kosova*, Prishtinë: Museum of Kosova

Spahiu, N. (2004) *Drejt kombit Kosovar*, Mitrovicë

Smart, J. (2003), 'Ethnic Entrepreneurship, Transmigration, and Social Integration: An Ethnographic Study Of Chinese Restaurant Owners In Rural Western Canada' in *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development*, Vol. 32, No. 3-4, 2003, 311-342

Smith, A.D. (1991), *National identity*, London: Penguin

Smith, A.D. (1999), *Myth and Memories of the Nation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Smith, J. & Jehlicka, P. (2007) 'Stories around food, politics and change in Poland and the Czech Republic', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 32(3) pp. 395–410.

Smith, J. &Jehlicka, P. (2007) 'Stories around food, politics and change in Poland and the Czech Republic', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 32(3): 395–410

Smith, K. (2010) *Genocide and the Europeans*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Smollet, E. (1989) 'The Economy of Jars: Kindred Relationships in Bulgaria-An Exploration' in Ethnologica Europaea, XIX (2)

Sobal, J. (2005) 'Men, Meat and Marrigage: Models of Masculinity' in *Food and Foodways*, 13: 1, 135 — 158

Sugar, F.P. (1977), *Southeastern Europe under the Ottoman Rule 1354 – 1804*, Washington: University of Washington Press

Sugar, P., ed. (1995), *Eastern European Nationalism in the Twentieth-Century*, Lanham MD: American University Press

Stephenson, M.L. (2002) 'Travelling to the Ancestral Homelands: The Aspirations and Experiences of a UK Caribbean Community' in *Current Issues in Tourism*, 5:5, 378-425

Stipčević, A. (1980) *Ilirët: historia, jeta, kultura*, Prishtinë: Rilindja

Ströhle, I. (2012) 'Reinventing Kosovo: Newborn and Young Europeans' in Šuber, D & Karamanic, s (eds), *Retracing Images: Visual Culture after Yugoslavia,* Brill: Balkan Studies Library

Slobo, Elisa J. (1997), 'The sweetness of fat. Health, procreation, and sociability in rural Jamaica' in Counihan, C. & Esterik. P.V. (eds.), *Food and Culture: A Reader*, London: Routledge.

Spray, Z. (2002),'Alaska's Vanishing Arctic Cuisine' in *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 30-40

Spang, R.L. (2000), *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press

Spradely, J.P. &Mann, B.J. (1975) *The Cocktail Waitress: Woman's Work in a Man's World*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc

Steiner, F. & Bohannan, L. (eds) (2004), *Taboo*, London: Routledge

Stoller, P. (1997*), The Taste of Ethnographic Thing*s: The Senses in Anthropology, Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania Press,

Sutton, D. (2010), 'Food and the senses' in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 39:209–23

Sutton, D. (2001), *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*, Oxford: Berg

Southworth, C. (2006) 'The Dacha Debate: Household Agriculture and Labor Markets in Post-Socialist Russia' in *Rural Sociology* 71(3), 2006, pp. 451–478

Stănescu, V (2010) "Green" Eggs and Ham? The Myth of Sustainable Meat and the Danger of the Local' in *Journal for Critical Animal Studi*es, Volume VIII, Issue 1/2, 2010 (ISSN1948-352X)

Sutton, D. (2005), 'Synesthesia, Memory and the Taste of Home' in Korsmeyer, C. (ed), *The Taste Culture Reader: Experiencing Food and Drink*, Oxford: Berg
Sutton, D. (2010), 'Food and the senses' in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 39:209–23
Sutton, D. (2001), *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*, Oxford: Berg
Stark, D. & Bruszt, L. (1998), *Postsocialist pathways: Transforming Politics and Property in East Central Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Stublla, Sh. (2007), *Mbijetesa: Aspekti muzeor*: Prishtinë
Tam, S. M. (1997), 'Eating Metropolitaneity: Hong Kong Identity in *yumcha*' in *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 8(3): 291–306.
Tilley, C. (2006) 'Introduction: Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage' in *Journal of Material Culture* 2006 11: 7 -32
Tilley, C. (1999), *Metaphor and Material Culture*, Oxford: Berg
Tilley, C. (1994), A Phenomenology of Landscape: places, paths, and monument, Oxford:Berg
Tilley, C. (2004), *The Materiality of Stone: explorations in landscape phenomenology*, Oxford: Berg
Tilley. C (2006a), "Objectification; Theoretical Perspectives" in Tilley, C & Keane, W. Kuechler, S. &Rowlands, M. & Spyer, P (eds) *Handbook of Material Culture*, London, Sage Publications
Tilley, C. (2006)'The Sensory Dimensions of Gardening' in *Senses & Society*, Volume 1, Issue 3, 311-330
Tilley, C. (2008a) 'From the English Cottage Garden to the Swedish Allotment: Banal Nationalism and the Concept of Garden' in *Home Cultures*, 5, 2: 219 -250
Tilley, C. & Bennet, W. (2008) *Body and Image: Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology 2*, LeftCoastPress, USA
Tilley, C. (2009), 'What Garden Mean' in *Vannini*, P, (ed.) *Material culture and technology in everyday life*, New York: Peter Lang Publishers
Tivadar, B & Luthar, B (2005)' food, ethics and aesthetics' in Appetite 44, 215-233
Thornton, S. (1995), *Club Cultures: Music, Media, and Subcultural Capital*, Cambridge: Polity
Todorova, M., (1996), "The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans", in L. Carl Brown (ed.) *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East,* NY, Columbia University Press
Todorova, M. (1997), *Imagining the Balkans*, New York: Oxford University Press
Todorova, M. (2004), 'Introduction: Learning Memory, Remembering Identity', in Todorova, M. ed., *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory,* London: Hurst
Todorova, M. (ed.) (2004), *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory* London: Hurst
Todorova, M., (2004), 'Learning Memory, Remembering Identity' in Maria Todorova (ed.), *Balkan Identities; Nation and Memory*, Hurst &Co , London
Tokman, A. (2011), *Negotiating Tradition, Modernity, and Identity in Consumer Space: A Study of a Shopping Mall and Revived Coffeehouse*, MBA dissertation, Ankara: Bilkent University
Tomlinson, J. (1999), *Globalization and Culture*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press
Traphagan, J.W. & Brown, K.L. (2002) 'Education Fast Food and Intergenerational

Commensality in Japan: New Styles and Old Patterns' in *Ethnology*, Vol. 41, No. 2 pp. 119-134
Tjora. A & Scambler, G. (eds) (2013) *Café Society*, New York: Palgrave
Turner, V. (1982), *From Ritual to Theatre: the Human Seriousness of Play*, PAJ Publications: New York
Trubek, A. (2000), *Haute Cuisine: How the French Invented the Culinary Profession*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.
Trubek, A. (2008), *The Taste of Place: A Cultural Journey into Terroir*, Berkeley: University of California Press
Trubek, A. (2005), 'Place Matters' in Korsemeyer, C. (ed.) *The Taste Culture Reader: Experiencing Food and Drink*, Oxford: Berg
Tucker, C. (2011), *Coffee Culture: Global Connections, Local Experiences*, London: Routledge
Tuomainen, H.M. (2009), 'Ethnic identity, (post)colonialism and foodways: Ghanaians in London' in *Food, Culture and Society*, 12(4), 525-554
Turner, J.W. (1997) 'Continuity and Constraint: Reconstructing the Concept of Tradition from a Pacific Perspective' in *The Contemporary Pacific*, Volume 9, Number 2, Fall 1997, 345–381
Turgeon, L & Pastinelli, M. (2002) '"Eat the World": Postcolonial Encounters in Quebec City's Ethnic Restaurants' in *Journal of American Folklore* 115 (456) 247 -268
Van Gennepp, A. (1960), *Rites of Passage*, Chicago: Chicago University Press
Veliu, V. (1990) 'Kushtet ekonomike, ushqimi, shtëpitë dhe gjendja shëndetësore e shqiptaëve Sipas udhëpërshkrusve frëngë të shekullit XIX' in Përparimi, 44, 2: 143-155
Verdery, K. (1993), 'Ethnic relations, economics of shortage and the transition in Eastern Europe' in Hann, C.M. (ed), *Socialism: Ideals, Ideologies, and Local Practice,* London: Routledge
Verdery, K. (1998), 'Transnationalism, Nationalism, Citizenship, and Property: Eastern Europe since 1989', *American Ethnologist*, vol. 25, no. 2 (May 1998), 291–306
Vickers, M. (1998) *Between Serb and Albanian: A Short History of Kosova*, New York: Columbia University Press
Virmani O.P (1954, 2002) *Round the World with Bicycles*, Stuttgart: Auflage
Visser, M. (1999), 'Food and Culture: Interconnections' in *Social Research,* Vol. 66, No. 1, 117-130
Velikonja, M. (2009) 'Lost in transition: nostalgia for Socialism in postsocialist countries' in *East European Politics and Societies*, Volume 23, Number 4, Fall 2009 535-551
Verdery, K. (1995), *National Ideology Under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Cauşescu's Romania,* California: University of California Press
Verdery, K. (1996), *What was socialism and what comes next?*, Princeton: University of Princeton Press
Verdery, K. (2003), *The Vanishing Hectare: Property and Value in Postsocialist Transylvania,* Thaca: Cornell University Press
Voell, S. (2003), 'The Kanun in the City. Albanian Customary Law as a Habitus and Its Persistence in the Suburb of Tirana, Bathore' in *Anthropos*, Bd. 98, H. 1. (2003), pp. 85-

Vucinich, W. ed. (1991), *Kosovo: Legacy of a Medieval Battle,* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Vukov, N. & Ivanova, M. (2008), 'Food Labels, Meal Specialties, and Regional Identities: The Case of Bulgaria' in Ethnologia Balkanica 12, 2008. pp 37 -57
Vullnetari, J. (2012), *Albania on the move: Links Between Internal and International Migration*, IMISCOE, Amsterdam University Press
Vullnetari. J. & King, R. (2011) *Remittances, Gender and Development, Albania's Society and Economy in Transition*, London: IB Tauris
Walker, H. (ed.) (1995), *Disappearing Foods, Processing of the Oxford symposium on food and cookery*, Devon: Prospect Books
Walker, H. (2001), *Food and the Memory: Proceedings from the Oxford Symposium on Food and the Cookery*, Devon: Prospect Books
Wallianatos, H. & Raine, K (2008), 'Consuming Food and Constructing Identities among Arabic and South Asian Immigrant Women' in *Food, Culture & Society*, Vol 2, Nr. 3, September 08, pp. 355-373
Warde, A and L.Martes (2000), *Eating Out: Social Differentiation, Consumption and Pleasure*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
Warde, A.(2009) 'Globalisation and the challenge of variety: a comparison of eating in Britain and France', in Gimlin,D. and Inglis,D. (eds.) *The Globalisation of Food*, Oxford, Berg, (2009), 227-42.
Warrander, G. & Knauss, V. (2010) *Kosovo, 2nd edition*, Coneticut: The Globel Pequot Press, Inc.
Warde, A. (2009b), 'Imagining British cuisine: representations of culinary identity in the Good Food Guide, 1951-2007." *Food, Culture and Society* 12, no. 2(2009), 151-171
Waters, M. (2001), *Globalization*, London: Routledge.
Watson, J. (ed) (1997), *Golden Arches East: McDonald's in East Asia*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press
Watson, J. (2005), 'China's Big Mac Attack' in James l. Watson & Melissa l. Caldwell (eds) *The Cultural Politics of Food and Eating*: *A Reader*, Blackwell Publishing, London
Watson, J. & Caldwell, M. (2005) ' Introduction' in Watson J. & Caldwel, M.(eds) *The Cultural Politics of Food and Eating*: *A Reader*, Blackwell Publishing, London
Wedel, J. (1986), *The Private Poland: An anthropologist's look at Everyday Life*, New York: Facts on File Publications
Weiner, A. (1992), *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving*, Berkeley: University of California Press
Weller, M. (2008) 'Kosovo's final status', in *International Affairs*, 84, 6, 1223-1243
West, R. (1941), *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: the Record of a Journey through Yugoslavia,* London: Macmillan
West, H & Raman, P. (2009), 'Introduction' in West, H. & Raman, P (eds) *Enduring Socialism: Explorationsof Revolution & Transformation, Restoration & Continuation*, London: Berghahn Books
Wilkes, J. (1995), *The Illyrians*, Oxford: Blackwell
Wilk, R. (2009), 'The Edge of Agency: Routines, Habits and Volition' in Shove, E. &Trentmann, F. & Wilk. R. (eds), *Time, Consumption and Everyday Life*, London: Bloomsbury

Wilk, R. R. (2002), 'Food and Nationalism: The Origins of "Belizean Food' in Belasco, W & Scranton, P. (eds) *Food Nations: Selling Taste in Consumer Societies*. New York: Routledge,
Wilk, R. (2006), *Home Cooking in the Global Village Caribbean Food from Buccaneers to Ecotourists*, Oxford*:* Berg
Wilk, R. (2013) 'Preface' in Garth, H. (ed), *Food and Identity in Caribbean*, Bloomsbury: London
Wilson, T. M. (2005) 'Drinking cultures: Sites and Practices in the Production and Expression of Identity' in Wilson, T. M .(ed) *Drinking Cultures: Alcohol and Identity*, Oxford: Berg
Winland, D. (2007) 'We are Now a Nation: Croats between "Home" and "Homeland", Toronto:
University of Toronto Press: Bloomsbury Academic Publishing
Wood, R.C. (1992), "Dining out in urban context' in *British Food Journal*, 94, 9: 3-5
Wood, R.C. (1994),'Dining out on Sociological Neglect', in *British Food Journal*, 96, 10:10 - 14
Wood, D. (1991) *On Paul Ricoeur:* Narrative and Interpretation, London: Routledge
Worthington, M. (2003), 'Domestic' in Lyon, G.E (ed.) (2003), A Kentucky Christmas, USA: University Press of Kentucky
Wurgaft, B.A. (2003) 'Starbucks and Rootless Cosmopolitanism' in *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture*, Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 71-75
Xhemaj, U. (2006), *Shtresime kulturore*, Prishtinë: IAP
Xhemaj, U. (2006), *Etnokultura shqiptare në Podgur*, Prishtinë IAP
Yano, C. (2007) Side-Dish Kitchen: Japanese American Delicatessen and the Culture of Nostalgia, in Beriss, D. & Sutton, D (eds) *The Restaurant Book: Ethnographies of Where We Eat*, Oxford: Berg
Yamamoto, K. (2008), *Struktura etike e të drejtës zakonore Shqiptare/* The ethical structure of the Albanian customary law. Tiranë, Almera
Yamamoto, K. (2002), 'The Ethical Structure of Homeric Society' in *Coll. Antropol*. 26, 2: 695–709
Young, A. (2000), *Women Who Became Men*, Oxford: Berg
Young, A. & Young, N. & Hodgson, J. & Bland, W. (eds) (1997) *Albania* (World Bibliographical Series), Oxford: Clio Press
Youth Initiative for Human Rights, (2010) 'State of Constriction: Governance and Free Expression in Kosovo': Available at http://www.civilrightsdefenders.org/files/State-of-Constriction-YIHR-Kosovo.pdf [last accessed 11 august 2012]
Yunxiang Yan, (2005) 'Of Hamburger and Social Space: Consuming McDonald's in Beijing' in Watson, J. & Caldwell, M. (eds) *The Cultural Politics of Food and Eating: A Reader,* Malden: Blackwell
Yuval-Davies, N. (1997), *Gender and Nation,* London:Sage
Zanic, I. (2007), *Flag on the mountain: a political anthropology of war in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1990-1995*, Saqi
Zellner, D. A., Garriga-Trillo, A., Rohm, E., Centeno, S., and Parker, S. 1999. Food liking and craving: A cross-cultural approach. *Appetite*, 33:61–70.
Zeka, D. (2006), *Inventory of phenotype diversity of landraces of common beans (Phaseolus vulgaris L.) in Kosova for a national gene bank*, MA thesis, Uppsala University, Sweden
Zirojević, O. (2000), 'Kosovo in the Collective Memory', in Popov, N. & Gojkovič, D. (eds) *The Road to War in Serbia*, Budapest: Central European University Press

Zhegrova, D (2013) *The Geography of Public Debate in Prishtina,* in *Kosova 2.0*, Public Space issue, nr. 5 spring/summer, 2013, Prishtina

Zubaida, S. (2001), 'National, Communal and Global Dimensions in Middle Eastern Food Cultures' in Zubaida, S. & Tapper, R. (eds). *A Taste of Thyme: Culinary Cultures of the Middle East*, London, Tauris Parke

Živković, M. (2011), *Serbian Dreambook: National Imaginary in the time of Milošević*, Indiana: Indiana University Press